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THE JAMAICA MASSACRES.

NARRATIVE.

WE shall scarcely require to solicit of our friends, indulgence for presenting them with a succinct account of the dreadful doings in Jamaica, to the exclusion of almost all other matter. We delayed the publication of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, at the commencement of the month, intending to issue it with a supplement, as soon as the mail arrived; but so great and so sudden became the pressure upon us, in connection with the active measures necessary to be immediately taken, to arouse the country to the true character of the proceedings of Lieutenant-Governor Eyre and his subordinates, that we were unable to carry out our intention. But although the publication of our periodical has been postponed until another number is nearly due, we hope that, as a record, it will be found none the less useful.

It happens, also, most fortunately, that the Editors of the *Daily News* have issued a statement, similar to the one we were preparing, and as the narrative is strictly what it professes to be, a collection of items of information from the Jamaica newspapers, we submit it *in extenso*.

NARRATIVE OF THE ALLEGED INSURRECTION.

(From the *Daily News*.)

"It has been suggested to us from several quarters, that although a large number of facts connected with the origin, progress, and suppression of the outbreak in Jamaica have been published from time to time, hitherto no consecutive account of these occurrences has yet been given to the world. Now that, with the appointment of a commission of inquiry, the questions arising out of them have entered upon a new stage, the time may be thought suitable for such a narra-

tive. In preparing the subjoined account of events in Jamaica, we have been careful, as is explained in our leading article of this day, to draw only from authorities which have Governor Eyre's sanction.

"It may be convenient to prefix a brief account of the scenes of the alleged rebellion, and of the operations of the troops. The island of Jamaica is divided into four counties, the eastern end of the island forming the county of Surrey. This is nearly a parallelogram, about 40 miles long from east to west, and 20 broad from north to south. The parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East lies at the eastern extremity of the county, and is about 20 miles long and 10 broad. Kingston and Port Royal lie on the southern coast, near the western extremity of the county. Morant Bay, the scene of the outbreak, is about 20 miles east from Kingston. Morant Point, 10 miles further east, forms the extreme eastern point of the island. Due north from Morant Bay, and on the north coast, is Port Antonio. It will be seen that it was within the area formed between a line drawn from Morant Bay on the south, to Port Antonio on the north, and the eastern shore of the island, that Governor Eyre considered the rebellion confined. This includes a space of about 20 miles from north to south, by 10 or 12 from east to west. Actually, however, the limits of the disturbed district were much more circumscribed. Parallel to the south coast there runs, about 10 miles inland, the great ridge of the Blue Mountains. At their foot the Plantain-Garden River flows in an easterly direction, falling into the sea near Morant Point. A mile or two above its debouchure are situated Amity Hall and Hordley, the scenes of attack by the negroes. They are about 12 miles from Morant Bay. Stony Gut is on a low range of hills parallel to the Blue Mountains, lying between the course of the Plantain-Garden River and the

south coast, and is about three miles from Morant Bay.

THE OUTBREAK.

We take, almost unabridged, the following account of the first outbreak, said to have been furnished by authentic witnesses, from the *Colonial Standard* of 21st October :

"On Saturday the 7th October, 1865, a court of petty sessions was held at Morant Bay. A man made a noise in the court, and was ordered to be brought before the justices. He was captured by the police outside, but immediately rescued by one Paul Bogle and several other persons, who had large bludgeons in their hands, and taken into the market-square, where some one hundred and fifty more persons joined them also with sticks: the police were severely beaten. On Monday, the court again meeting, a man named Lewis Dick was tried for a trespass on Middleton Plantation, adjoining Stony Gut. It may here be mentioned that the people at Middleton have been for many years past under the impression that the place belonged to nobody, and that no one had any right to it but themselves. Middleton belongs to W. M. Anderson, Esq. As soon as the case of trespass was called, some one hundred and fifty persons, the same who rescued Geoghegan, entered the Court-house with sticks. The magistrates convicted Lewis Dick on his own plea of guilty. Paul Bogle immediately came forward and told the man not to pay any fine, but to appeal, which he did, and entered into the necessary recognizance. On Monday, the 9th, warrants were issued against Paul Bogle and twenty-seven others for riot and assault on the Saturday. On the police going to Paul Bogle's house, and attempting to arrest him, a horn sounded, and about three hundred persons, armed with deadly weapons, made their appearance from Paul Bogle's chapel and a cane-piece near to his house. The police were seized, and threatened that unless they took an oath to forsake the white and brown people and join their assailants they would be immediately put to death. Fearing that the threats would be carried out, they took the oath, which was administered by Paul Bogle: the police did not return until the following day, Tuesday.

"What had taken place at the execution of the warrants was communicated to his Honour the custos, who had just returned to the parish. The police further stated that the people were gathering in great numbers at Stony Gut, and that when they left there were over six hundred persons under arms; that shells were blowing in every direction; and that they were informed the people intended coming to Morant Bay on the following day, Wednesday. On Wednesday the vestry met, and proceeded with their business. About four o'clock P.M. drums were heard, and after this the rebels made their appearance. The volunteers were drawn up in line before the Court-house, eighteen in number. The custos, who stood on the steps, exhorted the people, some six hundred, armed with deadly weapons, not to enter the square, and stated that if they had any grievance to complain of, to say so, and it should receive redress. They, however, per-

sisted in coming into the square, upon which the custos read the Riot Act. By this time the mob had come within a few yards of the volunteers, firing a volley of stones at the volunteers. Captain Hitching then gave orders to fire. The most murderous attacks were then made on every one coming within reach of the rebels. The volunteers, being overpowered, took refuge in the Court-house, where the custos, magistracy, clergy, and other gentlemen were. Finding that these parties had taken shelter, they smashed the windows to atoms, firing continually into the Court-house, when the volunteers returned their fire, doing good service. About half-past five o'clock the Court-house was fired. The custos put out a flag of truce by advice of the clerk of the peace. The rioters asked what it meant, and were answered peace. They said they did not want peace, they wanted war. A second flag of truce was put out, with no better effect, the rebels crying, "War, war." On the roof of the Court-house falling in, through the fire that had been set to the premises, the custos and other gentlemen burst open the doors and ran down the steps, the rebels attacking them in every direction. The custos was armed with a sword which he took up. Each endeavoured to save himself. The mob cried, "Now we have the Baron; kill him;" and loud shouts announced that the deed had been done. Doctor Gerard was then called to come out, the mob protesting that they would save him. The unfortunate victims were then killed in detail under circumstances of great atrocity.

"After Mr. Alberga was butchered, the mob were about to murder his already wounded child, when some women interfered and saved the poor innocent. Mr. C. A. Price was murdered almost at the same time with Mr. Alberga, notwithstanding the efforts made by one William Donaldsen to save him. This man, we must observe, deserves the greatest praise for the superhuman, but unfortunately unavailing exertions which he used to save the lives of the victims. Dr. Gerard owed his safety, in a great measure, to this man's interference. After a series of most eccentric acts, stealing nearly every thing in the way of valuables and money from some houses, and sparing others, taking the watches and money of the murdered persons, and saving some and despoiling others, the mob retired from the town a little before the *Wolverine* hove in sight. Mr. Herschel's tongue was cut out, and the fingers of the Baron's hand were cut off, the murderers observing that they would write no more lies to the Queen. The mob abstained from liquor, but it was well ascertained that they partook of a mixture of rum and gunpowder the day previous to the butchery. The mob came from an eastward direction, having gone a circuit apparently to surprise and capture the police station with the arms and, ammunition in it. This manoeuvre proved successful. They took possession of the arms, and holding them aloft and throwing them up frantically in exultation at the capture, they advanced towards the Court-house. Six volunteers and eight civilians were killed, six volunteers and seventeen civilians wounded.

From the statements made to the *Colonial Standard* by the overseers of the Bowden and

Hordley estates, lying between Bath and Point Morant, and about six miles from Morant Bay, the following account of the further proceedings of the "rebels" is condensed:

"On Thursday, the 12th, the rioters occupied and plundered the small town of Bath, eight miles from Morant Bay, and on the Plaintain-Garden River. They then proceeded down the line of the Plaintain-Garden River a few miles to Hordley. On the way they were met by a detachment of special constables, consisting of eight men with a double-barrelled gun among them. The villains attempted to stop the constables, who boldly charged them, shooting two of their number, and eventually cutting their way with cutlasses through them.

"At seven P.M. the mob attacked and plundered Duckinfield-house. No one was hurt. They next made for Amity-hall, the residence of Mr. Hire, attorney or agent for the estate. This gentleman was beaten to death, and his son and two other persons severely wounded, but a doctor, who was present, was spared. They next made for Hordley-house, where many ladies and children had taken refuge, but here they were met by fifty of the black labourers on the Hordley estate, who refused to allow them to approach. While parleying, the rest of the Hordley negroes took the ladies and children out of the house, and hid them in a place of safety. Next day they escorted them to the protection of the troops. The house was sacked and gutted by the mob after their departure."

"On the 13th a different band attacked Bowden, a mile or two to the south, and plundered it; but the *Onyx* steaming up Port Morant at the time, dispersed them with a few shells, and made some prisoners."

No trace of violence, of plundering, or of fighting is to be discovered, from the despatches or from the newspaper accounts, as having occurred after this day. We hear of crowds at various places armed with "cutlasses" (the hooks used for cutting the canes), but they invariably fled on the approach of troops. The Governor states, "No ladies or children had been injured."

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE OUTBREAK.

We now proceed to condense, from Governor Eyre's own despatch, the account of his proceedings. He tells us, that on the morning of Wednesday, 11th October, at 8 A. M., he received at Spanish Town a letter from the Baron von Ketelheldt, custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East, written the previous evening from Morant Bay, to inform him that serious disturbances were apprehended, and to request that troops might be sent. On receiving this letter, Governor Eyre, on the 11th, sent from Spanish Town, where he then was, an express to Kingston, requesting that 100 troops might be sent by the *Wolverine* to Morant Bay. They embarked and sailed the same evening. So little apprehension of serious disaffection, however, was entertained, that Governor Eyre tells us, that after giving these

orders he returned to his "temporary residence in the mountains, to be present at a dinner-party which was to meet there next day." But on the afternoon of that day, Thursday, Nov. 12, despatches reached him announcing "a rising." He then returned to Kingston, despatched 100 men by sea, and a company of the 6th Regiment by land, to march along the line of the Blue-Mountain valley. At the same time martial law was proclaimed over the whole county of Surrey, excepting Kingston. On the morning of Friday, the 13th of November, Governor Eyre himself proceeded to Morant Bay with fifty more troops, and attended by two members of the Assembly, a member of the Council, and the Attorney-General, "all in their capacity as officers of militia and volunteers." Arrived at Morant Bay he found that a detachment of 120 men had already proceeded, under Captain Luke, towards Bath. The Governor went on the same evening at nine o'clock to Port Morant, where he in person first saw active service in the field and on court-martial. "We ascertained also that some of the rebels were in the immediate vicinity of our camp, and a party of twenty-five men were sent out at two A. M. in the morning, to try and surprise some in their huts. Two men and some women were thus captured. One of the men was a principal in the disturbances, of the name of Fleming. He was tried by court-martial, and at once hung. The second, quite a young man, was flogged. The women were released."

Returning that morning, Saturday, 14th Oct., to Morant Bay, the Governor found the *Wolverine* returned, with a reinforcement of another company of the 6th Regiment. He then says: "The prisoners on board the *Wolverine* were landed, and five of them tried by court-martial, four of whom were hung on the stone archway of the burnt Court-house, near to which all the massacres had taken place on the 11th. One prisoner was flogged. The Attorney-General of the colony, in his capacity as a captain in the militia, sat as a member of the court."

The *Colonial Standard* of Oct. 21 gives us, however, some further information respecting this second court-martial. The sentence on the men was subject to the Governor's confirmation; the sentence on the woman, Sarah Frances, was accompanied with "a recommendation to his Excellency the Governor that her sentence be commuted to imprisonment for life. His Excellency declined to adopt the recommendation of the court-martial in reference to the female culprit; thereupon the three male insurgents and one female were, after receiving spiritual consolation, speedily ushered into eternity."

On Sunday, the 15th, the Governor proceeded in the *Wolverine* to Port Antonio, which was "threatened by the rebels, who were burning buildings and destroying property about twelve miles to the eastward."

"No time was lost in disembarking the troops, and by noon a strong detachment, consisting of 100 from the 2nd battalion of 6th and 1st West-India Regiments (many on horseback) were on their way under Captain Hole, 6th Regiment, to meet the rebels reported to be at Long Bay twelve or fourteen miles to the eastward). I personally inspected the Maroons, a fine body of about 150 men, who in the most loyal spirit had come down on the day preceding our arrival, ill-armed as they were, determined to protect Port Antonio. They were unbounded in their devotion and loyalty, and were beyond measure delighted to see again their former captain, the Hon. A. G. Fyfe, whom I had brought with me in the *Wolverine*, and under whose orders they at once placed themselves. It was now clear that by the rapidity of our movements we had got ahead of the rebellion, which, breaking out at Morant Bay, had proceeded rapidly along the south-east, east, and north corner of the island. By occupying Port Antonio in time, we not only saved that district from destruction, but we met and stopped the further progress of the rebellion twelve miles east of it. We had indeed accomplished some most important results in a singularly brief space of time. A military post was established at Morant Bay, and another at Port Antonio, whilst the centre of a line connecting the two was occupied by the friendly Maroons. The greater portion of the rebels were therefore hemmed in within the country east of the line. The spread of the rebellion westward was stopped, and if no independent outbreak occurs in any other part of the island we shall have the disturbed districts under control, and can at leisure deal with and punish the insurgents. At the same time, all the helpless and unprotected ladies, children, and other refugees have been got in and saved. All our most important work being thus done, and the troops comfortably established in their barracks, we had for the first time a night of quiet and rest on the night of Sunday, the 15th October. At daybreak on Monday, the 16th October, a court-martial sat to try prisoners, and twenty-seven were found guilty and hung."

Having thus completed his military arrangements, "got ahead of the rebellion," brought "the disturbed districts under control," "hemmed in the greater portion of the rebels," had a good night's rest on Sunday, and seen 27 prisoners hung next morning, Governor Eyre returned to Kingston, from which he had received urgent entreaties that martial law might be extended to it. He reached it on the morning of Tuesday, the 17th. He found that 200 more troops had been sent for from Nassau, volunteers and pensioners had been called out, and the parties sent through the district strengthened. In these circumstances he considered it unnecessary to proclaim martial law in Kingston, and made the following speech—reported in the Jamaica papers—in explanation:

"His Excellency addressed the meeting, and said he was happy to say, that through the exertions of the troops and the Maroons, the further progress of the rebels had been stopped. The Maroons had marched from Port Antonio, over the hills, to meet the troops, and the rebels had

been entirely intercepted. He was of opinion that there was no organization, for several of the rebels had been taken around and about Plain-tain-Garden River, and not far from their homes. He thought there might have been very few who had come from Morant Bay to join in the outbreak there, and what was done really appeared to have been done by people in the districts. He hoped that soon entire peace would prevail."

Further confirmation of the fact that the authorities considered all resistance at an end is incidentally furnished in a report of a meeting called at Mandeville, 50 miles on the other side of Kingston, by the custos, on the 18th October. At this meeting, the *Morning Journal* of 25th October tells us, "a despatch was brought in to the inspector of police dated the day previous, which was read aloud to the meeting, and was in substance, 'That the rebellion was crushed out, the ringleader, George W. Gordon, being in irons, to be tried by a court-martial on board the *Wolverine*.'"

THE OPERATIONS OF THE TROOPS.

Having thus traced the proceedings of the Governor down to the time when he considered the "rebellion hemmed in," we may now follow the proceedings of the officers commanding troops.

Captain Luke, it will be remembered, was sent from Morant Bay on the 13th with 120 men towards Bath, about six miles to the north-east. His first despatch is dated Monday, 16th October. The following are the only passages that speak of his meeting "rebels":

"Passing the Plain-tain-Garden River estate, Captain Ross, who was in charge of the escort, ordered his men to fire on a number of the rebels who were on the hill threatening our party, and several were killed. Hearing there were several gentlemen hiding on the Golden-Grove estate, I sent a mounted party of men to bring them on; but an alarm being raised of the large body of men on the estate, I ordered off Captain Ross with 60 rank and file, who found a number of rebels with cutlasses, who, on seeing the troops, attempted to escape. Upwards of 40 prisoners were made, and several of the rebels were shot. The soldiers of the West-India regiment were mounted on horses they secured, which caused great celerity and facility in capturing the rebels. They rode like devils, and were the best Bashi-Bazouks in the West Indies."

Captain Hole, of the 6th Regiment, commanded a small detachment sent from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, and his proceedings are thus described by Brigadier Nelson, of date Oct. 17:

"Captain Hole, commanding detachments of 6th Royal and 1st West-India Regiments, had arrived at Manchioneal, having carried all before them. The whole of his proceedings were temperate, decided, and judicious. All rebels captured, having been tried, he had instantly executed. In several houses he had found plunder secreted, and razed them to the ground, and proclaimed that where he discovered spoil he would adopt a similar course. I cannot conclude without briefly saying that Captain Hole has in every way carried out my orders, and has proved

himself not only an excellent officer, but, what is still more valuable, an officer of sound sense and judgment."

Colonel Hobbs, 6th Regiment, was meanwhile pushing westwards under the chain of the Blue Mountains to meet the other detachments at Stony Gut. The following are the principal parts of the despatches of this officer. The first despatch is dated Monklands, 16th Oct.:

"I have the honour to report we have been most successful in our advance, and I think in a great measure crushed the rebellion in this quarter. The troops under my command have behaved not only with gallantry but with that order which becomes British soldiers. Private Thomas Murton, of the 6th Royal Regiment, captured the rebel chief William Carr, who entered this house in search of Mr. Paterson, with the intention of taking his life. He was tried this day by court-martial, after due deliberation found guilty, and shot. This has produced a wonderful effect throughout the district. Since the execution, numbers of rebels have come in, having thrown away their arms, and seeking protection. The men I cannot possibly undertake to guard. They are embarrassing the troops, and I believe they are all worthy of death, but I shrink from the responsibility of executing them without first hearing your wishes respecting them. I hope to-morrow, if all be well, to make a forced march towards Stony Gut, in this parish, where the rebels, driven due westward by Brigadier-General Nelson, have assembled in great force, and where they have a large supply of gunpowder, arms, &c. As they are all mounted on mules and horses it is evident we shall have some difficulty in following them up. I do not think the insurrectionist spirit extends into St. David's, where all seems loyal at present.

"Postscript.—Since the execution of the leader, William Carr, the rebels are coming here in numbers, confessing their guilt, and seeking protection. I have handed them all over to the magistrates, who say they cannot get special constables to guard them, and I have no men to perform the duty. From the other outposts all continued satisfactory, the troops pushing on towards the rebels. All is quiet towards the west."

The further progress of this corps is detailed in the following despatch from Colonel Hobbs:

Chiego-root Market, Blue Mountain Valley,
nine miles in advance of Monklands,
Oct. 19 (midnight).

"Sir,—I have the honour to bring to the knowledge of your Excellency that I marched at half-past 11 P.M. last night for the rebel stronghold, Stony Gut. To my regret I found, that not only had the rebels too cowardly treated us, but that the honour of being the first troops there fell to the lot of the sailors, artillery, &c., under Lieutenant Oxley. The march from Monklands occupied nine hours under torrents of rain, and I found it most dangerous work crossing over the numerous rivers, which took the men above their waists. There was not a single non-commissioned officer or soldier who was not literally wet through, and every article of their clothing, saddlery, &c.,

utterly destroyed. Added to this, the entire darkness of night made it a march never to be forgotten in the Sixth Regiment. About daylight this morning, in passing through this village of cross-roads, where the rebels destroyed every thing, I found a number of special constables who had captured a number of prisoners from the rebel camp. Finding their guilt clear, and being unable either to take or leave them, I had them all shot. The constables then hung them up on trees, eleven in number. Their countenances were all diabolical, and they never flinched the very slightest. From this we at once went to Stony Gut. . . . This gut, or narrow defile, is three miles long, and the men were up to their knees in sticky mud, at the bottom of which mud our horses' shoes and ammunition boots became firmly imbedded. After partaking of some biscuits and rum in Bogle's chapel, sending off his lamps as a trophy to his Excellency the Governor, and utterly destroying this rebellious settlement, I have returned with my jaded and foot-sore troops to this spot, where we bivouacked for the night in another ecclesiastical building, called the 'Chiego-Foot Methodist Chapel.' We have plenty to eat, and the few remaining white and coloured people treated us most kindly. Their houses have all been wrecked, and pistols pointed at them. . . . I must not forget to tell you that I have got Paul Bogle's valet for my guide—a little fellow of extraordinary intelligence. A light rope tied to the stirrup, and a revolver now and then to his head, cause us to understand each other; and he knows every single rebel in the island by name and face, and has been selecting the captains, colonels, and secretaries, out of an immense gang of prisoners just come in here, whom I shall have to shoot to-morrow morning. . . . If you can send me some sailors and marines do so, as there is a plenty to do yet.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FRANCIS HOBBS,

Col. 6th Royals, Com. Central Division.

Reports from other officers carry on the same story:

"Extracts from a despatch from Captain Hole to Brigadier-General Nelson.

"Manchioneal, Oct. 19.

"I have further the honour to acquaint you that a great number of prisoners have been brought in by the constables of this district, all of whom seem to vie with one another to make amends for their late delinquencies by capturing all the people concerned in the rebellion. Amongst others, two ringleaders, both of whom were engaged in plundering the Mulatto-River estate, Mr. Hinchlewood's property, were brought in. I assembled a court-martial, and the two men were hung in the middle of this town on the afternoon of the 17th instant.

"I have disposed of several other prisoners by inflicting corporal punishment, but still there remains a great number on my hands, and this is swelling every moment."

The next is from Brigadier Nelson:

"Morant Bay, Oct. 22.

"Sir,—In a report from this place I stated it to be my intention to despatch troops to Easington. . . . Prisoners are being brought in very

fast, known murderers of Messrs. Cooke, Walton, &c., and they will be brought to trial. . . . From the reports I have received from officers commanding outposts, and the information I gather, I consider, so far as I can form an opinion, that in their immediate districts the rebellion has been nipped in the bud."

This opinion of the utter disappearance of the rebellion is confirmed by the following despatch from Lieutenant Adcock, 4th regiment, who traversed the very centre of the disturbed district:

"Morant Bay, 25th Oct. 1865.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that on the morning of the 23d instant I started with thirty men for Duckinfield, and visited several estates and villages. The people had for the most part deserted their dwellings, and taken with them any plunder they may have had, although leaving several traces behind them. I burnt seven houses in all, but did not even see a rebel. During the day I searched the whole country round about, but the state of the roads through the bush, mud up to the horses' knees, prevented me going as far as I would have wished. I, however, consider the state of the country quiet throughout this district. I caused information to be given to all the negroes round about, that if they returned to their work they would not be molested, provided they were not actual murderers, or concerned in a riot where murders were committed. In the evening 140 returned to Mr. Harrison, and a large number came to other planters on the morning of the 24th. On returning to Golden Grove in the evening sixty-seven prisoners had been sent in by the Maroons. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark. The rain and roads had completely knocked up both horses and men this day. On the morning of the 24th I started for Morant Bay, having first flogged four and hung six rebels. I beg to state I did not see a single man upon the road up to Leith Hall. There were a few prisoners here, all of whom I flogged, and then proceeded to John's Town and Beckford. At the latter place I burnt seven houses and one meeting-house; in the former four houses. I had not then to burn any more houses, so I pushed on for Morant Bay, where I arrived a little after dark."

Captain Ford, in command of the St. Thomas-in-the-East Irregular Troop, writes as follows: His despatch appears in the *Morning Journal* of 30th October, but it refers to an earlier date:

"On our march from Morant Bay we shot two prisoners and catted five or six, and released them, as these latter were only charged with being concerned in plundering, not murders. This morning we made raid with thirty men, all mounted, and got back to head-quarters at four P.M., bringing in a few prisoners; and having flogged nine men, and burned three negro houses, then held a court-martial on the prisoners, who amounted to about fifty or sixty. Several were flogged without court-martial, from a simple examination. Nine were convicted by court-martial: one of them to 100 lashes, which he got at once, the other eight to

be hanged or shot. We quarter on the enemy as much as possible: small stock, turkeys, &c., *ad libitum*: other supplies we give receipts for. We press all the horses and saddles we can find, but the black troops are more successful than ours in catching horses: nearly all of them are mounted. They shot about 160 people on their march from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, hanged seven in Manchioneal, and shot three on their way here. This is a picture of martial law. The soldiers enjoy it—the inhabitants have to dread it. If they run on their approach they are shot for running away. The contents of all the houses we have been in, except only this very house, but including the barracks, have been reduced to a mass of broken and hacked furniture, with doors and windows smashed by the rebels."

We must now turn to the proceedings at Morant Bay, where more regularity of justice might have been expected.

THE COURTS-MARTIAL.

The following narrative is almost wholly abridged from the letters of the special correspondent of the *Colonial Standard*, the accuracy of which, it will be remembered, General O'Connor commended, and files of which were sent home by Governor Eyre:

"Morant Bay, Thursday, Oct. 18.

"The supposed rebels that were captured and brought in during the day on Tuesday last, and early on the following morning, were examined by the Provost Marshal, at his office, but beyond being stragglers, nothing was proved that warranted the whole of them coming before a court-martial. About thirty were, one by one, lashed to a gun and catted, receiving fifty lashes on the bare back, laid on man-of-war fashion; and the rest (about twenty) committed as rebels. Among the rebels was George Marshall, a brown man, of about twenty-five years old, who, on receiving forty-seven lashes, ground his teeth, and gave a ferocious look of defiance at the Provost Marshal. He was immediately ordered to be taken from the gun and hanged. No time was lost, and he was accordingly strung up in the presence of the insurrectionists.

"At twenty minutes to two o'clock a company of Maroons came in with thirty-nine rebels, picked up in the Plantain-Garden River district: some of these belong to Morant Bay. Joseph Harris, one of the rebels just brought in, having escaped from the district prison during the insurrection, was immediately catted (fifty lashes) in the presence of his co-rebels. Four more, belonging to the same batch, received the same punishment for insubordination while they were being examined. Frank M'Queen and Joseph Mitchell, the identified murderers of the Rev. Victor Hershell, brought in along with the same batch, were immediately ordered to be hanged. One rebel was shot yesterday at Easington by the regulars. He was asked if he knew where Paul Bogle was, (the ringleader.) He said yes, but refused to tell where he was secreted. He said he preferred to be shot than reveal his hiding-place. He was instantly

popped down. At the same place (at the Court-house) two of the rebels were flogged.

From a private correspondent of the *Colonial Standard* of 24th Oct., dated 20th Oct.:

"Flogging, says our informant, is going on from morning to night. Many women and children, detected as robbers, are catted and let go daily. The greater criminals are sent on to Morant Bay to be hanged or shot.

"Mr. Justice W. P. Kirkland, the only acting authority at Bath, received a verbal message to shoot prisoners, but did not consider that authority enough for such a proceeding. He sent off to Morant Bay for a confirmation, but delayed, from some cause, starting his despatch, so much so, that the prisoners have increased to between 120 and 150 in the mean time, and every place in the small town is wholly or partially taken up to lodge them.

"The Maroons, inveterate against blood-thirsty rebels, have vowed their readiness to second, in every way, the just retribution which has overtaken them. They level the huts and houses of the rebels everywhere.

"At two P.M. on Friday, the 20th, as our correspondent was closing his letter, 100 prisoners were brought in from the Plantain-Garden River district, and the lash had commenced to be applied to them."

The special correspondent of the *Colonial Standard*, writing from Morant Bay on Oct. 21, says:

"At an early hour yesterday-morning the catting of rebels and stragglers, as they were brought in from their hiding-places, was resumed. Amongst them was one Cameron, in whose possession was found a volunteer rifle, and who confessed to having killed a volunteer, and desired that he himself should be shot at once. This favour, however, the Provost-Marshal did not grant him, but, by way of foretaste, ordered him fifty lashes, which he duly received on his bare back, fastened around a column of the station. He remained there in company with another murderer and rebel, who was also tried and had received twenty-five lashes, until noon, when they were taken down to the court-martial. A fifer of the rebels, brought in wounded in the foot by a rifle bullet, supposed to have been received from a volunteer rifle, was given fifty lashes on his bare back and released, his wound and his emaciated condition being sufficient guarantee for his future good conduct should he survive. At about twelve o'clock, yesterday, the rebels, amongst them George William Gordon, were brought out and lined in front of the wharf where the courts-martial were about to be held. In order to save time, two courts were formed—the one composed of Colonel Lewis, of the St. Catherine's Militia; Captain Espent, of the Kingston Militia, and Captain Astwood, of the Kingston Cavalry; the other composed of Second-Lieut. Brent, commander of the gunboat *Nettle*; Second-Lieut. Herrington, commander of the gunboat *Onyx*; and Ensign Kelly, of the 4th West-India Regiment. (G. W. Gordon was tried by the latter.) No time was lost in proceeding with the business of the courts, and at each five minutes condemned rebels were taken

down under escort, awaiting their doom. The courts-martial sat until nearly five o'clock P. M., and at the close of the sittings twenty rebels were numbered amongst those sentenced to be hanged. I must here observe that these courts were conducted with marked military discipline: only three of the rebels brought before them escaped death. The court, composed of the naval and military officers, spared them not: every one brought before it was sentenced to be hanged.

"Morant Bay, Wednesday, 12 o'clock, October 25, 1865.

"Between five and six o'clock this evening the four notorious leaders of the rebellion, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, James Bonie, and James M'Laren, together with fourteen other rebels, were led out for execution.

"Thursday, Oct. 26.

"There were sixteen more of the rebels executed this evening, and eighteen catted and released. Up to date the number of rebels executed here (Morant Bay) amount to 102.

"Friday, Oct. 27.

"At about eight o'clock this morning the *Wolverine* anchored off Morant Bay, having on board three prisoners from Kingston, and three from Vere. They were immediately landed and placed in the custody of the Provost-Marshal. Prisoners are every day brought in, and those on hand left to be tried number over two hundred, a great many women among them. The court-martial adjourned to-day about three o'clock, to re-assemble to-morrow. Eighteen more of the rebels, including three women, were tried and sentenced to be executed, the sentence to be carried into effect this evening. Amongst these is Frederick Hill, who was released on Wednesday, nothing having been proved against him; but Master Hill was recognised by James Bonner Barnett, a baker on the bay, as one of the foremost of those who, on the night of the rebellion, demanded a supply of bread, and who deprived him of his lantern.

"Morant Bay, Monday, 30th Oct.

"The Maroons visited Dumfries and Notts River on Thursday last, and at both places they burnt several of the negro huts and shot five of the rebels. They are paying visits to all the settlements. As a mark that the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East is crushed out, I have to mention that the labourers in the River District, as well as those upon Coley and Hall Head estates, have turned out actively to work. The court-martial presided over by Lieutenant and Commander Brand resumed its sittings on Saturday at about three o'clock. Eleven rebels were tried and condemned: among these were two women who took considerable share in the insurrection. They were executed the same evening, at about half-past five. Several were catted and released. The court-martial presided over by Lieutenant and Commander Brand met at twelve o'clock to-day (Monday). Sixteen of the rebels were condemned to death, and one to be flogged—100 lashes. Late in the evening twelve were hanged. There is one continual scene of hanging day by day, and it becomes a matter for consideration whether the burial of so many people, packed, as I heard a blue-jacket say, 'like

sardines,' in the town, is not likely to produce some serious epidemic here. Already the effluvia of the dead bodies commences to taint the atmosphere. Last night, particularly, disagreeable effluvia arising from the graves in which these dead bodies are interred, pervaded the entire town, and it was not without difficulty that one could avoid getting nauseated.

"Tuesday, Oct. 31.

"It may not be altogether uninteresting to your readers to know that slightly over 1050 rebels have been hanged or shot in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East up to date, and it is not at all unlikely that ere the different courts-martial close their sittings there will be far over 2000 who will have paid the penalty of their vile attempt to exterminate the white and coloured races of this island. The court-martial has just resumed: fifteen were tried and condemned to death.

"Morant Bay, Nov. 1.

"In my last despatch I mentioned the trial and condemnation to death, by court-martial, of fifteen rebels. Thirteen of them were executed on Saturday evening in the presence of over 200 of their co-rebels. On the same day two rebels were catted—one received 100 lashes and the other 150, well laid on by four stalwart blue jackets. The Provost-Marshal this morning visited the hotbed of the rebellion, Stony Gut. During his tour he fell in with a straggler, who could give no satisfactory account of himself. He was at once given in charge of the police, conducted to the station, and fifty lashes with the cat administered to him 'by way of caution.' The court-martial resumed its sittings at two o'clock to-day, and adjourned about six o'clock p. m. Fourteen of the rebels were tried at this sitting, thirteen sentenced to be hanged: among these, Jessie Taylor, the woman who, it was proved, sat on the late Mr. Charles A. Price's chest with a hatchet in her hand; and also a man to receive 100 lashes. The sentences were carried out at six o'clock on the same evening, in the presence of the untried rebels, numbering over 200.

"Morant Bay, Friday, Nov. 3.

"During the afternoon Edward T. Goldson and Samuel Clarke received each twelve lashes from the cat on their bare backs for insubordination. They were tied to a column in front of the police-station to receive their punishment. The court-martial was opened to-day at about half-past twelve by Lieutenant and Commander Brand (president), Ensign Taylor, 6th Royals, and Ensign Cole, 1st West-India Regiment. (In the evening seven prisoners were hung.) Lieutenant and Commander Brand is a credit to the service to which he belongs, and to the Crown he serves. Patient, calm, deliberate, with a mild voice and manner, as president of the court-martial, he gives every prisoner, however proven to be guilty, his own way of questioning witnesses through him, and the right of entering into his defence. The Provost-Marshal still continues as active and energetic as ever; preserving order and discipline on all sides which astonishes every one. How he has stood the immense amount of fatigue and labour he has undergone surprises me. Verily he is a man of iron.

"Morant Bay, Sunday, 10 A.M., Nov. 5.

"No court-martial was held at the Bay yesterday. It was held at the district prison, where a number of prisoners, against whom there was no proof that they were actually in arms, or present at any murder, &c., were catted and sent adrift. There were in all ninety-nine released, of both sexes. I believe they were not all flogged, some of them having been let down easily.

"Morant Bay, 7 P.M., Tuesday, Nov. 7.

"There has been rather a general dulness in the movement this side with regard to the rebellion since my last. It is supposed that this is owing to the nature of the despatches brought to the brigadier-general by Lieutenant M'Glashan, of the No. 1 St. Catherine Volunteers, from his Excellency the Governor, on Saturday morning last; for all signs of hanging have vanished for the present. When I sent you my despatch, under date of Sunday, stating the number of prisoners released, &c., the return was not fully made up. I then stated that there were 99 in all—women included—released; but I have since ascertained that there were 140, namely, 100 men and 40 women. Several of the men, however, received a fair quantum of lashes as a 'caution,' and 'to teach them manners,' as our worthy Provost-Marshal would say."

The following is from another newspaper correspondent.

"Morant Bay, Nov. 5.

"I must tell you of a couple of rather amusing episodes which have occurred during these sad days. On the evening of Thursday, the 26th ult., several of the rebels were being flogged at the guns in the parade—others having been already executed: one fellow, at every stroke from the cat, bellowed out lustily, 'Paul Bogle, oh!' Jack, who sees fun in every thing, hailed out to him, 'Why don't you sing out for Moses Bogle now?' Thereupon he changed his note accordingly, and at every stroke cried out lustily as before, 'Moses Bogle, oh!' As he had to receive 75, there was plenty of room for more fun for Jack, who told him to cry out now for George Gordon. Accordingly he changed the burden of his cry and sang out for 'Massa Gordon, oh!' which cry he continued until his flogging was completed. On the Saturday following, while another chap was being flogged, Jack thought to have another joke, and told him to sing out for Paul Bogle; 'Oh, Massa!' he cried agonizingly, 'him dead and gone to h—already, make him go.' A man belonging to one of the scouring parties in search of the escaped rebel Miles, informed me yesterday that the water of the Morant-Bay River (Johnson's River) must be unwholesome on account of the number of dead bodies lying in the upper part of it, which flows through the Blue-Mountain Valley. He reports that in the Negro River especially—a tributary of the Johnson River—a great number of carcasses lie about on its banks and in its shallows. It was through this district that the 6th, under Colonel Hobbs, marched on their way from Monklands to Stony Gut, and no doubt they dealt out to the flying rebels their righteous desert. Those

whom the soldiers spared the Maroons have destroyed, and my informant states, that from 'the barracks' — Trinity district — down to Coley Estate, only two cottages have been left."

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF GORDON.

On Governor Eyre's return to Kingston on the 17th he issued a warrant for the arrest of Mr. G. W. Gordon. On learning this Mr. Gordon gave himself up. The Governor's despatch proceeds—

"Having placed Mr. Gordon on board the *Wolverine*, and having obtained a supply of arms and ammunition from General O'Connor for the use of the Maroons and others, I at once set off again in the *Wolverine*, about noon of the 17th October, on my return back to Morant Bay. On the morning of the 20th October, having landed Brigadier Nelson and the militia officers who aided as members of courts-martial, and having put on shore the prisoners, including G. W. Gordon, I again proceeded in the *Wolverine* to Kingston, reaching that city about 2 P. M."

The correspondent of the *Colonial Standard* thus describes the treatment of the prisoner, and the trial:

"After George William Gordon had been brought on shore, he was taken to the station, and there the scene presented is hardly describable. From one blue-jacket you would hear, 'Which is that venerable Parson Gordon?' From another, 'There he is' (pointing to him). From a third, 'I'll set the bloody dogs at you, you rascal.' From a fourth, 'I'll tear you up myself.' From the next, 'What, is he a white man?' From another, 'By J—s, he'll catch it: would you like to have a taste of the cat, you?' 'You won't be long here: We'll soon string you up;' and other exclamations which would hardly be the thing to put to paper. Under each of these epithets, George William Gordon seemed at each moment to have been more depressed, and I doubt not that if the blue jackets had been left to exercise their own will, he would have been torn to pieces alive. This picture, as I said before, is indescribable. The members of the court-martial which tried G. W. Gordon and others were Lieutenant and Commander Herbert Brand, commanding the *Onyx*, Lieutenant Errington, of the *Wolverine*, and Ensign Kelly, of the 4th West-India Regiment. At two o'clock the same day (Saturday), the trial commenced. He was given a very patient trial, and was allowed to cross-examine all the witnesses through the president of the court, and, above all, was permitted to enter into a lengthy defence. The trial lasted till past candle-light, when the court was ordered to be cleared. The court sat in deliberation for nearly half an hour, the president then pronouncing only the words, 'This court is dissolved.' I have full notes taken of the trial, but am not permitted to forward them for publication until leave is given me to do so by the brigadier-general. The charges against George William Gordon were—1st, high treason and sedition against her Majesty the Queen; 2nd, inciting to murder and rebellion.

The proceedings were transmitted by Brigadier Nelson, to Governor Eyre on Sunday morning.

The sequel is stated in the postscript to the Governor's despatch:

"P.S., 23rd October.—Having kept my despatch open, I am enabled to add that Mr. George William Gordon has been tried by court-martial, at Morant Bay, and sentenced to be hung. The execution was to take place this morning, at eight P. M. I have seen the proceedings of the court, and concur both in the justice of the sentence and in the policy of carrying it into effect."

GOVERNOR EYRE'S RESPONSIBILITY.

It only remains that we direct attention to the fact, that for all the proceedings now narrated, Governor Eyre himself assumes entire responsibility, and gives the proceedings of his subordinates his full approval. He mentions by name in his despatch, and in his subsequent speech to the Assembly, on Nov. 7, Colonel Hobbs and all the other commanders of detachments, and also the naval officers, and recommends several for promotion. Nor will it be forgotten that he was present at the two first courts-martial, and gave them the tone of showing no mercy. In the conclusion of his despatch occur the following passages:

"Such is a general and hurried outline of what has taken place up to this evening, the 20th October. I regarded it not only desirable, but a positive duty to be personally present to direct and superintend the military movements in the disturbed districts. From the first moment of the outbreak, up to the date of my return to Kingston this afternoon (20th October), every disposition of the troops, and every movement, has been made by Brigadier Nelson, under my own personal instruction and approval. The whole responsibility of what has been done, therefore, rests upon me. At the same time I beg to express my own deep obligation, and the obligation of the whole community, to the military and naval authorities for the promptitude, energy, and zeal with which they have responded to my wishes, and at great personal inconvenience, risk, and hardship, have successfully carried out my requirements. It is impossible for me to narrate all the various subordinate arrangements or movements of the respective military corps in the field, or of the several detachments sent out from them on special service. It may suffice to state generally that a large number of rebels have been shot with arms in their hands, that a great many prisoners have been tried and hung, shot or flogged, and that a considerable number of prisoners are still on hand awaiting trial by court-martial. It is difficult to arrive at any correct estimate of the number of people engaged in the rebellion. The districts where it broke out, and into which it spread, are fertile, and very populous. Different persons have reported seeing from several hundreds to as many thousands at a time; and Colonel Hobbs reports in one of his letters that there were still thousands of rebels around him. No stand has ever been made against the troops, and though we are not only in complete military occupation of, but have traversed with troops all the disturbed districts, not a single casualty has befallen any of our soldiers or sailors, and they are all in good

health. They have, however, suffered much inconvenience and hardship from the state of the weather, which has been extremely wet and inclement, the month of October being the period when what are called the 'season rains' usually fall. We have been singularly fortunate in capturing or shooting a large number of the principal ringleaders in the rebellion, and many of whom were personally concerned in the atrocious butcheries on the 12th October at the Morant Bay Court-house, or in the subsequent destruction of life and property further to the eastward, as the rebellion extended in that direction. Very many acknowledged their guilt before execution."

THE ALLEGED INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA.

LETTERS TO THE PRESS.

ALMOST immediately after the narrative of events brought over by the mail of the 15th November had appeared in the daily London newspapers, the following series of communications, addressed to the Editors of all, without exception, was issued from the office of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*:

LETTER NO. I.

SIR—The following communication has come to hand to-day. I can vouch for our correspondent. The statement is from a gentleman of Jamaica, and in authority there. I leave it to tell its own tale.

St Thomas,
28th October, 1865.

DEAR SIR,—By this mail you will receive tidings of the horrible doings in Jamaica; and as the public in England may be misled by the one-sided description allowed by the Jamaica authorities to be published, I send you the following account, which is a fair statement of facts, and contains every thing material to the sailing of the Packet.

On Saturday, 7th October last a Court of Petty Sessions of the peace was held at Morant Bay, in the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. Whilst the business of the Court was being proceeded with, the Justices were annoyed by the chattering and noise of the bystanders, and ordered the party making the noise to be placed before them, upon which one Charles Geoghegan left the Court, followed by the Police, who captured him outside: he was immediately rescued, and the Police had to return without their prisoner, having been rather severely handled in the scuffle.

On Monday, the 9th, the Court again met, and convicted a man named Lewis Dick for a trespass on Middleton plantation, a place adjoining the Negro settlement of Stony Gut. When this case was called on, about 150 of the settlers entered the room, (the same body that had made the rescue on Saturday,) and at the termination of the case, Paul Bogle, their leader, came forward and told the man not to pay any fine, but to appeal to a higher Court, which he did, and

entered into the necessary recognisance for the purpose.

It is here necessary to notice that the "Middleton" is an abandoned plantation, and is claimed by Mr. W. M. Anderson, the present *Immigration Agent* of Jamaica, but that his title is disputed by the settlers of Stony Gut, and they have been for many years under the impression that no one had a right to it but themselves. Hence, their appearance at the Court, and their interest in the case.

However, no sooner was the appeal allowed, than warrants were issued against Paul Bogle and twenty-seven others, charging them with riot and assault on the Saturday. The warrants were returnable on the Wednesday. On the police attempting to execute the warrants at the residences of the parties at Stony Gut, they were resisted and had to return the following day with intelligence that they had failed in their mission; that shells were blowing in every direction, and that the people intended to come down in force to the Court on Wednesday, and that they had forced them, the police, to take an oath not to act against them on peril of their lives.

On this information the Custos, who had just returned to the parish, sent off to the Volunteers at Bath, and also an express to the Governor, requesting that a few troops might be sent without delay, but unfortunately this precaution was not adopted by His Excellency the Governor.

On Wednesday about 4 p. m. the mob made their appearance; the Volunteers, eighteen in number, under command of the Deputy Clerk of the Peace, were drawn up in line before the Court House. The custos of the Parish, Baron Von Ketelhodt, stood on the steps and exhorted the people not to enter the square, and stated that if they had any grievance to complain of it should be redressed. They however persisted in coming into the square, upon which the Riot Act was read, and the Volunteers fired into the mob, doing great execution; but before they had time to re-load a rush was made on them, and they were overpowered and obliged to take refuge in the Court House, along with the Custos and magistracy. Part of the mob seized the Police barracks and appropriated the arms and ammunition found there; the others, smashing the windows of the Court House, and failing the ability to enter it, set it on fire, which compelled its evacuation.

The Inspector of Police, the Captain of the volunteer company, two sergeants, and three privates were killed, and six volunteers wounded. The Custos of the parish and six other civilians were killed, and sixteen civilians were wounded. A large number of the mob were killed, which infuriated the survivors.

At nine o'clock on the evening of the 12th, His Excellency the Governor held a Council of War, and at once proclaimed Martial Law throughout the whole county of Surrey, except Kingston, stating in the proclamation that there was reason to expect that the outrages and felonies in St. Thomas-in-the-East might extend to the neighbouring parishes in the same county.

The Governor sent on an express to Sir James Hope, admiral of the station, and H.M.S.

Urgent was sent to Barbadoes for spare troops. The French steamer, *Coravelli*, was placed at the disposal of the Government, and went to Morant Bay with the Governor, the Attorney-General, and a staff of militia officers, sufficient to constitute a Court Martial. Simultaneously with this, troops were, by the major-general, sent over the mountains to check any advance of the people from the disturbed district, and a proclamation was issued to the Maroons, calling on them to display their ancient loyalty, and take up arms. Mounted volunteers were brought into requisition, regular and irregular corps, and all were vieing in their zeal to hunt down the rabble.

Although the troops had met with no armed resistance, yet they were shooting and hanging the unfortunate blacks, men and women, with very little discrimination, and with a zest horrible to think of, and the settlement of Stony Gut is entirely destroyed.

Although the proclamation of Martial Law specially excepted Kingston, yet a warrant was issued to apprehend Mr. George W. Gordon, a Member of Assembly, residing there; on this he was taken up, sent to Morant Bay, tried by Court-martial, and executed on the morning of the 23rd. Such an arbitrary act shews an utter contempt for all form of legal procedure, and such is the reign of terror that no one dares to remonstrate. The following paragraph, copied verbatim from the *Jamaica Standard* of 24th October, will shew the state of the country. It is headed

"A VERY NECESSARY CAUTION."

"An announcement has been made under the authority of His Excellency the Governor, calling the attention of all persons to the pains and penalties, which any one who receives, shelters, conceals, or refreshes, or in any manner assists any rebel or person concerned in the rebellion, or holds any secret communication with such rebel or person, without making discovery to the military or other authorities of the Queen will incur. Persons are warned that they will be apprehended and dealt with the utmost rigour for so offending."

Under this a person may be tried and executed for performing a common act of humanity. The arrest of prisoners in Kingston still goes on; among others are Joseph Goldston, formerly senior serjeant of Kingston Police, and eight Haitian refugees; the Rev. J.T. Roach, Jamaica, Wesleyan Methodist Preacher, the Editor and the Proprietor of the *Watchman* newspaper, the Rev. J. H. Crole, the Rev. Mr. Harris, the Rev. Mr. Palmer, Baptist Minister, A. R. Jeffries, and Thomas Harvey, Vestrymen for Port Royal, &c., Dr. Bruce, of Vere, and the wife of the late Mr. G. W. Gordon, are also reported to have been apprehended.

Two Spanish vessels of war from Cuba have anchored at Kingston, and reported themselves ready to obey the orders of the Government, and assist to crush out the rebellion.

Previous to the arrival of the military at Morant Bay, the mob visited many of the sugar plantations in the parish, maltreating the whites, and, in one instance, beating an obnoxious planter to death; but in most

instances the women and children were unmolested, although the plunder of personal effects was very general. The troops sent on from Barbadoes are two companies of the Buffs, one company of artillery, and part of the West-Indian regiment stationed there. They left Barbadoes on the 24th. The *Aurora* frigate was at Dominica, and left for Jamaica twenty-four hours after receiving intelligence of the outbreak.

The expenditure already incurred has been very great in pay of the Volunteers, cost of transport, and other expenses incident to the suppression of the outbreak, while much individual loss must accrue from the stagnation of trade throughout the disturbed districts, which will add much to the previous existing distress.

The precise grounds of accusation against Mr. G. W. Gordon are at present a mystery. The common report is, that he was chief of a secret Society, having for its object the extermination of the white and brown population of Jamaica, and that the rioters in St. Thomas-in-the-East were a branch of that Society, forced, through circumstances, into premature action, which, by the chief, was not intended to have taken place before the month of December. This, to say the least, was improbable. Mr. Gordon was himself a brown man, and his wife a white, and several brown men have been executed. One brown man was sentenced to forty-seven lashes; and, after the infliction of the punishment, "having gnashed his teeth, and given a scowl of defiance at the Provost Marshal," was at once ordered to be hanged without more ado. A gentleman of high rank stated to the writer of this, that, if Mr. Gordon was to be despatched, it could only be done by Court Martial. He doubted much if any proof of guilt sufficient to satisfy a Judge of a Civil Court could be brought home to him; and even if there were, if he were permitted to exercise his right of challenge, no jury in Jamaica would be got to convict him. A report prevailed that his wife, Mrs. Gordon, had also been tried by Court Martial and executed, but her trial had not taken place up to the sailing of the packet, although she was in custody on the charge of having copied some treasonable paper for her husband, and of her having threatened that, if Mr. Gordon was executed, she would seek to avenge his death.

The legality of the proclamation of Martial Law by the Governor is very questionable. It is a grave step handing over the whole population of a district to military despotism and military licence in its worst form, where there is an antagonism of races and much personal animosity, where justice is gone and vengeance assumes the name. It may well be doubted whether the whole of the proceedings of the justices at Morant Bay were not illegal. Every Court has a right to punish a contempt in its presence, but it is very doubtful if a Court of Petty Sessions can give a verbal order to apprehend a party for contempt that has left its presence.

The matter of trespass over which they assumed jurisdiction involving the question of Mr. Anderson's title, ought to have been tried by a Judge and Jury, and the legality of the twenty-eight

warrants against Bogle and others for riot and assault are very questionable, while the imprudence of issuing such a number at once is very clear. Again, these men had a right to come and surrender to these warrants on the return day, and bring their respective friends to be ready to bail them in the event of their being bound over to answer the charges at the forthcoming Assize. Consequently it appeared premature in the Custos to refuse to allow the parties to approach the Court-house on pain of reading the Riot Act. If the magistrates had well-grounded fears of the mob, common prudence required that they should have adjourned the meeting, which they might have done previously to four o'clock, the hour at which the mob appeared. Technically speaking, it comes to be a question whether the order of the volunteers to fire was not an illegal act. If it was illegal, the *rebellion* is a fiction: they only savagely resisted illegal force; and although the barbarity of their subsequent acts cannot be too strongly reprobated, surely the Civil Courts of Jamaica were sufficient to deal with such felonies as occurred, and where the accused would have had fair trials. The Governor had the power to order special Sessions of the Criminal Courts, and they might have despatched the business with nearly equal celerity as the Court Martial, with this advantage, that the cases would have been presided over by judges learned in the law, instead of prejudiced military officers and subalterns in a regiment of the line.

In the case of the seizure and execution of Mr. G. W. Gordon, in addition to the personal wrong of the subject, the privileges of the House of Assembly were violated. The freedom from arrest of the members of the Legislature extend to all cases, except treason and felony. It would appear the most that could be urged against him was a conspiracy not yet ripe. A conspiracy is only a misdemeanour, consequently not sufficient to warrant arrest in the first instance without the sanction of the Assembly in Session.

The Colonial Office has of late years been raising up a distinct class of Officials for the West Indies. The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors are from the body of clerks from the Colonial Office, or private secretaries of Lieutenant-Governors, who hold the people in supreme contempt, and are chiefly intent on gaining the good will of a *coterie* in each colony who present them with addresses, or which duly appear at Downing-street as testimonials of their efficiency, while the colonies are going to ruin.

These *coterie*s consist, for the most part, of Officials and their immediate connexions. It is not the blacks and coloured people alone that complain of oppression and wrong; many Europeans are in the same category, and they complain in some colonies of the Courts of Justice being corrupt, that the judges and officers are partial, that the jury lists are systematically tampered with, and that the Colonial Office is deaf to their complaints, however persistently made.

L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.,
Sec. B. & F. Anti-Slavery Society.

In the leader on this subject, in the *Times* of this day, I find the subjoined broad statements.

"Enough is known to shew that this has been a most dangerous conspiracy."

No evidence, save hear-say, has yet been produced, to prove the existence of an organised conspiracy. All the facts at present tend to demonstrate the reverse.

"There is . . . the same ferocity of purpose, setting before itself the gratification of revenge, rapine, and lust," and, singularly enough, the same hatred towards the mulatto race for their superior intelligence and success in life.

A desire for revenge actuated the mob, after it had been fired upon, but there is no evidence to establish the charge of even contemplated outrages against women.

"Mr. G. W. Gordon was a black member of the Legislative Assembly, and a man of considerable property."

Mr. Gordon was a very light brown man. His father was an Englishman, his mother a mulatto.

"He was a magistrate, but had been dismissed by the Governor for seditious harangues."

Mr. Gordon was suspended for no such reason, but for defending the case of a poor black man, the victim of oppression. I am in possession of the official evidence relating to this matter, and of many facts sent to me by Mr. Gordon at the time.

"This man appears to have been the prime mover in the rebellion; and it is said that a plan of operations has been found in his handwriting. However that may be, it is certain that in the attack on the Court-house he was deeply implicated. Though a member of the vestry, and accustomed to attend the meetings, he was purposely absent from the one which was to be interrupted in so disastrous a manner.

Mr. Gordon's accusers assert his complicity upon hear-say. He was miles away from the Court-house when the riot took place. He was not purposely absent from the vestry referred to. The Custos, Baron von Ketelhodt, had refused to allow Mr. Gordon to sit in the vestry, though a member of it, and when Mr. Gordon attempted to assert his right, had him turned out by the police. This transaction formed the subject of a suit which was—at the time of the riot—before the Courts.

"This man was arrested, was brought to trial before a Court Martial by General Nelson, commanding the forces, and was hanged on the morning of October 23."

That is to say, he was apprehended upon a civil warrant, in Kingston, which had been specially exempted from the operation of martial law, was put on board one of H. M.'s ships of war, conveyed to

Morant Bay, within the declared district; was there tried by a military court, condemned to death on Saturday the 20th of October, respited over the Sunday, and hanged on the Monday morning, by order of General Nelson. Shame upon him!

What evidence may exist legally to implicate Mr. Gordon, as the prime-mover of this alleged conspiracy, I know not, but I am sure none could justify his summary execution by an arbitrary military tribunal, he a civilian, and a member of Assembly, protected by his privilege as such, under the constitution of the island. From a correspondence with him, extending over many years, I believe him to have been incapable of encompassing conspiracy in any form.

"On the morning large numbers of negroes lounged into the neighbourhood of the Court-house, and suddenly made an attack on it, going up and firing through the door and windows on the gentlemen inside."

If one fact is established beyond possibility* of contradiction, it is that the eighteen volunteers, commanded by Captain Hutchins, Deputy Clerk of the Peace, fired first into the assemblage of 600 people, then retreated into the Court-house, again to deliver their deadly discharge through its windows. Some of the mob then broke into the police barracks, obtained what arms and ammunition they could find there, and then returned to the square, to fight those who had first assailed them.

"No age or profession appears to have given immunity. Among those who were killed or wounded were ministers of religion and old people, who could not be supposed to be in any way dangerous to the insurgents."

A most untruthful statement. The official returns give a total of six volunteers and eight civilians killed, to which list must be added another, one Mr. Hire, a planter: total, fifteen persons. The Rev. H. Victor Hershell, the only minister of religion killed, was in the Court-house. Six volunteers and seventeen civilians, including a child which was in the Court-house, were wounded, and the infant appears to have been hurt by a stray-shot.

Sir, I leave the above facts to speak for themselves; but when we set against the number of victims who are known to have fallen and to have been injured in the riot itself, in the Court-house square, the three or four hundred reported to have been indiscriminately butchered by the volunteers and their allies, the savage Maroons, (with whom the British Government was compelled to make a treaty,) and those who were summarily disposed of by Court-

Martial judgments, we are tempted to inquire on which side are the bloodthirstiness and savagery so recklessly ascribed to the long-suffering and badly-governed negro population of Jamaica.

27 New Broad Street,
17th Nov. 1865.

THE LATE G. W. GORDON, OF JAMAICA.

LETTER NO. II.

SIR,—The *Times* asserts, amongst other untruths, that the late G. W. Gordon was dismissed from the Commission of the Peace by the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, for seditious harangues. The facts were simply these: A coloured man, taken up for an offence, and yet untried, was thrust into the privy of the lock-up of Morant Bay, where he died. He was buried without an inquest being held; but Mr. Gordon took the matter up, and so persistently prosecuted his investigation, that an exposure took place. He incurred thereby the displeasure of those in authority, and was summarily suspended by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Eyre. He appealed to the proper officials, and the following is a part of the correspondence which ensued. The first is the answer of the Governor's Secretary to Mr. Gordon's inquiry, why he was suspended. The second is the appeal of Mr. Gordon to the late Duke of Newcastle. It is almost superfluous to add, that Mr. Gordon did not obtain justice.

Governor's Secretary Office,
October 7th, 1862.

No. 1337.

SIR,—I am directed by the Lieut.-Governor, with reference to the correspondence which has taken place on the subject of the Morant Bay Lock-up, to state that His Excellency has been instructed to inform you that the Duke of Newcastle has considered attentively the evidence taken by the justices; and, whilst he acknowledges the service rendered by you in exposing the flagrant abuses of the lock-up house, His Grace regrets that you accompanied the same by a wilful and inexcusable misrepresentation of the conduct of the rector of the parish, of which misrepresentation, His Grace adds, your removal from the commission of the peace is a just and necessary consequence.

I have the honour to be, SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

H. W. AUSTIN,
Governor's Secretary.

G. W. Gordon, Esq., Kingston.

Jamaica, 22nd November, 1862.

To His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for the Colonies, &c., &c., &c.

May it please your Grace,—I have received two communications from the Lieut.-Governor, of which the enclosed is a copy.

Her Majesty the Queen deposes certain duties

to magistrates which cannot be performed by herself, and it is her prerogative at pleasure to recall her Commission; and if from any cause it was found necessary to withdraw the trust reposed in me, I should have been most willing to have resigned the same; but, after a service of nearly twenty years, and when, in the execution of my duties, your Grace admits that I had exposed flagrant abuses, I feel that I was entitled to some little consideration, and not to be thus summarily and harshly dealt with; and, as I made no misrepresentation against the rector, and I repudiate the motive attributed to me, I therefore think it is due that I should require, in common justice, to know from your Grace the particulars, and on what grounds I am charged with wilful and inexcusable misrepresentation, as being a just and necessary cause for my dismissal.

"The responsible position which your Grace holds as Secretary for the Colonies, is the highest appeal for all colonial questions and grievances and therefore all decisions by your Grace are received with deep interest, and are of great importance to the community.

"Your Grace will concur with me, that it is contrary to the British constitution to condemn a man without an impartial hearing; and it is wrong to conjure up a charge against any one, and then, without even due investigation, to pass judgment and sentence. Yet this is the position in which your Grace's decision has left me; and it is so subversive of the first principles of justice, that I cannot help thinking that your Grace has been deceived by erroneous statements; for neither in my letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, nor in the evidence taken before the special session, can it be proved that I made any misrepresentation about the rector, or any other party; and until I am informed of the nature of such alleged misrepresentation, and since I am also at a loss to perceive in what way my letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, which led to the correspondence between myself and him, is connected with the unjust charge laid against me, and for which I am dismissed, I must continue to feel I am deeply injured; and as a British subject, and one who has long served the Crown, I trust that in common justice your Grace will be pleased to order the information to be afforded me.

The attempt to cast an unmerited reproach on my character is most grievous and trying; and therefore I trust that your Grace will not consider me too importunate, in endeavouring to protect that which every man feels to be dear to him. Relying on the equitable consideration of your Grace, I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, your Grace's most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. W. GORDON.

Sir, I believe Mr. Gordon has been foully put to death. He had strongly opposed the expensive immigration schemes of the planters, and stood foremost as the unflinching, uncompromising advocate of right, and of fair government for the coloured people. Hence the deeply-rooted animosity to which he has fallen a victim. I feel it to be my duty to vindicate his memory. That he

was convinced there existed a determination to dispose of him will be seen from the subjoined extract from a letter of his to me, dated only the 10th of May last. He says:

"I have to contend with hatred and persecution of no ordinary kind at present.

"You will, by a paper sent to you, see that the Government, Judge, Attorney-General, and Special Jury, are all conspired against me here; and I believe, if some of them found the opportunity, they would unscrupulously dispatch me! But the Lord is with us, and the God of Jacob has promised to be our refuge, and our present help in time of trouble!"

Well, the "opportunity" has been found, and he has been "unscrupulously" dispatched.

November 20th, 1865.

THE LATE G. W. GORDON, OF JAMAICA.

LETTER NO. III.

SIR,—I have asserted it to be my belief, that the late G. W. Gordon, of Jamaica, was foully put to death. I mean that he, being a troublesome political opponent, was designedly delivered over to a military tribunal, that he might be summarily disposed of, and impunity for the crime of his murder be claimed under the proclamation of martial law. Lieutenant-Governor Eyre will have to answer for this outrage; and I rejoice to find that the calm judgment of the British nation is gradually condemning it.

According to Governor Eyre's own report, it was during his tour in the *Wolverine* and the *Onyx*, that he "found everywhere the most unmistakeable evidence" that "Mr. G. W. Gordon had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion." A little further on, however, Mr. Eyre, referring to the cause of the alleged rebellion, says: "I cannot myself doubt that it is in a great degree due to Dr. Underhill's letter, and the meetings held in connexion with that letter." The inconsistency of these two statements will not fail to be remarked. The Governor proceeds to state, that "having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the Post-office, directed in Mr. Gordon's handwriting to the parties who have been leaders in the rebellion," he called upon the Custos to issue a warrant for Mr. Gordon's capture.

Now, I would ask, who was this party who deposed on oath? Could his evidence, even on oath, be relied upon? How did the deponent know that the printed notices

"were seditious?" Who made him the judge whether they were seditious? Why has not a copy of those notices been published by the Governor to justify his arrest of Mr. Gordon? Were these alleged seditious papers copies of Mr. Underhill's letter? These are questions which must be answered.

I further ask: Of what nature was this "unmistakeable evidence" of Mr. Gordon's complicity in the alleged "rebellion" gathered during the Governor's tour in the *Wolverine* and the *Onyx*, the time which it occupied being passed principally at sea? Whatever its character, it appears to have satisfied Mr. Eyre that he was justified in causing the arrest of Mr. Gordon.

Well, Mr. Gordon being in custody, is conveyed on board the *Wolverine*, as we are informed "for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay." But why this course? In paragraph forty-nine of his report, Mr. Eyre says he did not entertain any apprehension that Mr. Gordon's capture would lead to an immediate outbreak in Kingston; so we may infer that his prisoner would have been in as safe custody in Kingston Gaol as on board the *Wolverine*. Had Governor Eyre intended justice to his opponent, he would have kept him on board the *Wolverine* for trial according to due course of law. But this course did not suit the purpose of the Governor, who tells us that he considered it "right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy, that while the poor black men, who had been misled, were undergoing condign punishment, the chief instigator of all the evil should not go unpunished. "It may be "right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy," that murderers be punished, but it will be a new theory to the British people, that it is "right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy," to hang them without trial.

Mr. Eyre, having clutched his victim, does not loose him, but goes with him on board the *Wolverine* to Morant Bay, and deliberately hands him over for punishment to Brigadier-General Nelson. This man makes short work of it, and Mr. Eyre states, that he never had with Brigadier-General Nelson "a difference of opinion even upon the propriety or policy of a single act or movement, and the public service was consequently conducted not only satisfactorily, but pleasantly."

I leave this ghastly confession to produce its proper effect.

Sir, this murder—extra-judicial, as some tender-spoken persons may call it—this murder of Mr. Gordon, involves certain important principles of public law, which I shall be much astonished to find can be violated with impunity.

First, I allege the illegality of the arrest of Mr. Gordon, as member of Assembly.

Secondly, I allege the illegality of his transfer—under a warrant from the civil power, and from a town specially exempted from the operation of martial law—to the military authorities, in a remote district, proclaimed to be under that law.

Thirdly, I assert that Mr. Gordon was not amenable to any military tribunal for an offence which—even admitting his alleged guilt—was committed before the declaration of martial law. I believe, that in the case of the Missionary Smith, Lord Brougham and Dr. Lushington were both agreed on a similar point.

In view of these circumstances, I am under the strongest impression that Mr. Eyre's course brings him within the operation of the "11th and 12th William 3, c. 12;" namely, "An Act to punish Governors of plantations in this kingdom for crimes by them committed in the plantations." This Act applies to all persons holding civil or military appointments in the colonies, and renders them amenable to justice in this country. It would therefore apply to Brigadier-General Nelson. Is there a Member of Parliament bold enough, or is the public opinion of the country strong enough, to demand the application of this Act? We shall see.

It will be noticed, that in his report, Mr. Eyre continually dwells upon the assumed fact of "a rebellion," and "an insurrection;" terms which imply concerted action. But he also says he failed to discover any assignable cause for the outbreak; and even affirms "that there was no organization." In this statement he is fully borne out by the event, for while his soldiers and the volunteers, with their savage allies, the Maroons, shot down the blacks by the hundred—man, woman, and child—not a casualty occurred to the men engaged in this bloody work.

It may suit the purpose of the *Times*, and of those who follow its lead, to propagate falsehood, and to vilify the negro race, as also to overwhelm its defenders with venomous abuse. The friends of the anti-slavery cause do not ask that the emancipated classes in our colonies should be shielded from punishment, when proved to be deserving of it; they only demand for them, as British subjects, the same protection under the laws, and the same redress for their grievances, as their fellow white citizens enjoy, but which have been denied them in Jamaica.

With reference to this subject, permit me to call your attention to the enclosed letter from the late G. W. Gordon to the Right Honourable E. Cardwell, a docu-

ment which sets forth, in a calm and statesman-like manner, some few of the island grievances.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient servant.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

27, New Broad Street, E.C.

22nd Nov. 1865.

THE CORRESPONDENCE.

Jamaica, 24th March, 1865.

To the Right Honourable EDWARD CARDWELL,
M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies,
&c., &c.

SIR—I have to bring to your notice, on behalf of the people of this country, the following facts, which are submitted as grievances:—

The House of Assembly, as at present constituted, by reason of the restrictions in the Election Law, (which has been amended only to a very limited extent,) cannot be said to be a fair representation of popular rights; therefore it becomes more for the mother Government to exercise that vigilance which in former times so greatly tended to the protection of the lately emancipated classes, and it is much to be regretted, that such is not continued to be the case.

From gross mismanagement, and for wasteful purposes, the taxation of the country is *increased*, without corresponding benefit to the general community. A flagrant illustration of this may be found in the history of the "Tram-road" affair, which, besides having involved the country in a heavy expenditure of money, creating additional taxation, has also, by interfering with the principal public road, caused serious loss of stock to the passengers, and irritated the minds generally of the people who traffic on this thoroughfare. We here find a sample of the ruinous consequences of *misconducting public affairs*; but ere this is got over, the Governor, in his opening speech, recommends a project for a "Slip Dock," which work, if at all necessary, is of a speculative nature, and such as a *company* may be encouraged by the Government to undertake, but certainly it is not for the public to adventure, nor one for *which the people should be taxed*! The island has no navy which requires such an undertaking, and therefore it can only be considered as a strictly commercial enterprise. But how then are the people to be taxed for this purpose? As well may any other company, more necessary and likely of success, be taken up by the *Government*, such as a "Soap manufactory," a "Sugar refinery," an "Agricultural bank," or a "Railroad to Old Harbour!"

The great question is, is it constitutional to *tax* the people for speculative enterprises? and is the island prepared to undertake the duties of private companies, and to conduct a Slip Dock, with all its contingencies and doubtful results, in the face of absolute expenditure likely to

involve not only a present, but a *future loss*, and increased *taxation* upon the people? It is a laid down principle that no Government is *justified* in acting in this manner. It is *contrary to sound political economy*, and its tendency is evil; yet we find that, even without detailed estimates or statements of annual expenditure and income, the Governor has sanctioned such a measure, which, having been opposed when first introduced into the Assembly, was withdrawn, and subsequently brought forward at the end of the session, when the quorum was reduced to *nine*,—hardly that number being present—and passed, as it were, to the surprise of the good sense of the country. This is a measure, which, if allowed to take effect, will create new heart-burnings in the minds of the inhabitants generally, and is a great public wrong.

A Bill of a most objectionable nature was passed under circumstances similar to those above stated: it is to *inflict corporal punishment* for "petty offences." This is a measure unparalleled in the present history of British legislation, and is so degrading and wicked in its tendency, as to create feelings of alarm. A public meeting has already been held against it in Kingston. A copy of the resolutions I shall send, and I believe other meetings or memorials are intended. The penal clauses of this Bill are confined to second *convictions*; but for what offence? A shrub, a reed, or plant, in an unenclosed or *enclosed* land, &c. It will not be hard in a country like this to find a second offence, which may be of a comparatively innocent nature, tortured for malignant purposes. While this is intended to operate for minor offences, the greater evils of society, forgery, *burglary*, cattle-stealing, &c., are all *left out*, so that this measure is strictly one aimed *against the lower classes*, who, just now, are in a state of great destitution. And, Honourable Sir, if you could only *behold them*, I opine that your feelings of compassion would be aroused to mercy and relief, instead of the infliction of "corporal punishment," which is death, or next to it: and I fear the indignation which may arise from this evil measure will be such as to have serious consequences. Representations, unfounded and uncharitable, may be wickedly made against the peasants of this country, but in good truth, they are as peaceable, civil, and well-disposed as any people can well be, and their character cannot justly be unfavourably compared with those of the labouring classes of Great Britain, the continent of Europe, or America. What they require is what has been neglected—attention to their sanitary improvement and education, parochial asylums for orphans and adults, and relief to some extent from the excessive taxation on the necessary articles of *food and clothing*, which in its tendency produces that destitution which leads, here, as in other countries (to a great

extent), to petty larcenies. These are the points which should have been attended to, but which are lost sight of, for the debasing purposes of the whip, as if that will instil principles of morality or supply the mental and bodily wants of a poor suffering community.

I do trust, that after due reflection, you may be led to consider the measure in its odious and injurious light. It seems to me an evil of the greatest magnitude, and shews to what extent inconsiderate feelings *still exist in Jamaica*.

But the manner in which the Bill passed the Assembly, is discreditable to the Government, as may be seen by the division on the question, and by which you will perceive it did not pass with the feeling of the country. The members of the Government after allowing it to remain on the table of the House for nearly THREE months, did not give any intimation of its being taken up, but seized upon an opportunity, and in two hours passed about four Bills of a most important nature, at the same time suspending all the rules of the House, in order to put them through all their stages within this time: this did not seem to be a creditable proceeding. A Bill was also passed on the same occasion, and under similar circumstances, to re-establish a District Prison at Port Maria. This Bill also provides that hard labour shall include the "*Tread Mill*," "*Shot Drill*," and "*Crank*."

Immediately after the *emancipation*, the "*Tread Mill*" was introduced into use in this Island, but soon it was discovered that its severities and tortures, as exercised here, were diabolical, and the Governor of the island, as well as the Colonial Secretary, determined that it should be abolished, and not one was allowed to be used, or even to remain in the prison; yet we find after a lapse of *thirty years*, when we had a right to expect better things, a British Government sanctioning such a thing. But this said "*Port Maria*" is really the grave of Jamaica. During cholera its population was nearly *entirely swept* away by that disease, and Dr. Milroy, the skilful Medical Inspector sent from England by the Government, condemned it, above all other places in the island, as most unhealthy and death-like, and yet we find that the prison which was abolished is again to be re-established, with the iron shackles to which the unfortunate prisoners have been consigned by the present Governor, with hard labour.

From the injurious atmosphere of Port Maria, a transfer of patients had frequently to be made to the public hospital of Kingston. From the depreciated state of health to which the prisoners must be reduced at Port Maria, many of them will leave the prison, for ever after to be worthless, and a tax on society. When it is remembered that many are sent to prison for very minor offences, under many cases wrongfully, and under long sentences, by erring judgment and *unlearned* justices, it does seem that it is a most cruel proceeding. I feel it a bounden duty to bring these

subjects to your notice. The consequences I cannot control, but I sincerely trust, that notwithstanding any explanation which will, no doubt, be tendered by the Governor on these remarks, that the facts only of the points may be considered. I have a conscientious assurance that I intend no undue reflections, and only write from the stern obligations of a sense of justice and common humanity.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

G. W. GORDON.

G. W. GORDON'S LAST LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

LETTER NO. IV.

SIR,—Sickening enough, in all conscience, are the details of the Jamaica butcheries perpetrated under martial law. The motto of the executioners appears to have been, short shrift and a long rope. It is no fault of the press, if the whole country has not read the ghastly account of the late Hon. G. W. Gordon's execution, in front of the Court-house at Morant Bay. It is no fault of the *Times* and of some other journals, if the Jamaica patriot does not stand before the world branded as a felon, and execrated as an inciter to rebellion and massacre. But the more that is known of his character, the higher will it stand, and the more loudly will public opinion condemn his murderers. Unless I greatly mistake it, too, it will demand that they be brought to trial for their crime. I have received a copy of his last letter. It was to his wife, an English lady, highly educated, who married him, notwithstanding his colour, because of his many noble qualities. Will it be believed that, although he was tried on the Saturday, the finding and the sentence of the court-martial—composed of two lieutenants in the navy and an ensign of the 4th West-India Regiment—were not communicated to him until one hour before his execution! Was this a refinement of cruelty? What does this condemned conspirator, traitor, and rebel do? He calls for pen, ink, and paper, and writes the following letter to his wife:

"MY BELOVED WIFE,

"General Nelson has just been kind enough to inform me that the court-martial on Saturday last has ordered me to be hung, and that the sentence is to be executed in an hour hence, so that I shall be gone from this world of sin and sorrow.

"I regret that my worldly affairs are so deranged; but now it cannot be helped. I do not deserve this sentence, for I never advised or took part in any insurrection. All I ever did was to recommend the people who complained to seek redress in a legitimate way; and if in this I erred, or have been misrepresented, I do not

think I deserve the extreme sentence. It is, however, the will of my heavenly Father that I should thus suffer in obeying His command, to relieve the poor and needy, and to protect, as far as I was able, the oppressed. And glory be to His name; and I thank Him that I suffer in such a cause. Glory be to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and I can say it is a great honour thus to suffer, for the servant cannot be greater than his Lord. I can now say with Paul, the aged, 'The hour of my departure is at hand, and I am ready to be offered up. I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith, and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me.' Say to all friends an affectionate farewell, and that they must not grieve for me, for *I die innocently*. Assure Mr. Airy, and all others, of the truth of this. Comfort your heart. I certainly little expected this. You must do the best you can, and the Lord will help you; and do not be ashamed of the death your poor husband will have suffered. The judges seemed against me; and from the rigid manner of the Court, I could not get in all the explanation I intended. The man Anderson* made an unfounded statement, and so did Gordon; but his testimony was different from the deposition. The judges took the former and erased the latter. It seemed that *I was to be sacrificed*. I know nothing of the man Bogle. I never advised him to the act or acts which have brought me to this end. Please write to Mr. Chamerovzow, Lord Brougham, and Messrs. Hencknell and Du Buisson.

"I did not expect that, not being a rebel, I should have been tried and disposed of in this way. I thought His Excellency the Governor would have allowed me a fair trial, if any charge of sedition or inflammatory language were partly [*? fairly*] attributable to me; but I have no power of control: may the Lord be merciful to him!

"General Nelson, who has just come for me, has faithfully promised to let you have this. May the Lord bless him, and all the soldiers and sailors, and all men. Say farewell to Mr. Philipps, also Mr. Licard, Mr. Bell, Mr. Vinon, Mr. Henry Dulasse, and many others whom I do not now remember, but who have been true and faithful to me.

"As the General has come, I must close. Remember me to Aunt Eliza in England, and tell her not to be ashamed of my death. Now, my dearest one, the most beloved and faithful, the Lord bless, help, preserve, and keep you. A kiss for dear mamma, who will be kind to you, and Janet. Kiss also Annie and Jane.† Say good bye to dear Mr. Davison, and all others. I have only been allowed one hour. I wish more time had been allowed. Farewell also to Mr. Espent, who sent up my private letter to him. And now, may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all.

"Your truly devoted and now nearly dying husband,

"G. W. GORDON."

* The same who obtained the warrant against Dick for trespass.—L. A. C.

† These three are his sisters.—L. A. C.

"I asked leave to see Mr. Panther,‡ but the General said I could not. I wish him farewell in Christ. Remember me to Auntie and father. Mr. Bamsey has for the last two days been kind to me. I thank him."

The dying man encloses his letter in an envelope, addresses it to his wife, and, last of all, jots down on the back of it "Luke vi. 15 to 26." With his mind dwelling upon the immediate future, he takes small heed of the present, and omits to date his last missive. He has been told he is to be hanged "in an hour," and then "the General has come." This is sufficient. Time to him is now nothing: eternity every thing.

Sir, my friend went to execution protesting his innocence—protesting that he did not even know Paul Bogle. There has not yet been produced a tittle of evidence disproving his assertion. If that circular of his, on the subject of the proposed meeting at Morant Bay, was constructively treasonable and deserved the gallows, I can point to leading articles in the *Times* far more seditious, and am bold enough to affirm that, according to such judgment, the writers merit hanging ten times higher than Haman.

I do not know whether the meeting at Morant Bay was held. The island papers contain no record of it, so we may conclude its results were not very inflammatory. That it was not illegal, nor seditious in intent, we may infer from the requisition—signed by 200 persons—having been agreed to by the Custos, the late Baron Ketelhodt, who fixed the day of meeting for the 12th of August at eleven in the forenoon. The letter, "forming part of the evidence upon which Gordon was hanged," was in circulation anticipatory of the meeting being held on the 29th July.

No unprejudiced person can read Mr. Gordon's last letter without having the conviction of his innocence forced upon his mind. The man who, with the certain prospect of a violent death, within one hour of his fate having been announced to him, could, with such majestic, Christian calmness and resignation, pen such a letter as the above, was no rebel, no encompasser of treason, massacre, and rebellion. He was a martyr.

If I may succeed in obtaining justice for his memory, his dying appeal will not have been made in vain.

November 30, 1865.

THE JAMAICA MASSACRES.

LETTER V.

SIR—It is not probable that Her Majesty's Government will refuse to insti-

‡ The minister who officiated in Mr. Gordon's Tabernacle.—L. A. C.

tute an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the recent terrible events in Jamaica; but the public will expect to be placed in a position to arrive at a correct conclusion. To enable it to do so, specific evidence should be demanded, and must be forthcoming. Either there was a wide-spread conspiracy, resulting in premature insurrection, or there was not. The late Hon. G. W. Gordon was either a conspirator and a rebel, or he was a loyal and an innocent man. The Jamaica papers inform us that "upwards of two thousand" persons—rebels they are called—have been summarily "executed" by sentence of courts-martial alone. Besides these, untold numbers have been savagely flogged, shot down, hanged, or otherwise violently done away with. All of these were or were not guilty of the crime imputed to them. Who shall say?

The friends of justice have a right to insist upon the production of the whole of the evidence upon which Lieutenant-Governor Eyre and his subordinates commanded these wholesale executions and indiscriminate floggings. We must have the evidence of the alleged conspiracy prior to the riot at Morant Bay, and of any treasonable conspiracy there, or elsewhere, with the names of the parties implicated, and of the witnesses. We must especially insist upon the production of a list of the persons who have been executed, and of the evidence upon which each was convicted.

With regard to the late G. W. Gordon, we must demand a special inquiry into his case. We must not be satisfied until we obtain the evidence which was in the possession of Lieutenant-Governor Eyre when he carried off Mr. Gordon from Kingston. We must also have the evidence which was taken at his trial by drum-head court-martial—if that can be called a trial which was in fact nothing but a hideous mockery. When we are in possession of this evidence, we may be able to ascertain how far Lieutenant-Governor Eyre and his accomplices are amenable under the statutes 11th and 12th William III., cap. 12, and the 42nd Geo. III., cap. 85. Under these Governor Wall was tried in 1803, for a murder committed in Africa twenty years before. He was convicted and executed. Another military celebrity, General Picton, picketed a girl of fifteen in Trinidad, and was punished under the same Act. Lastly, and with reference to the present state of the island, we have a right to know on what grounds the Lieutenant-Governor asserts in his speech to the Legislature, that there is a wide-spread and deeply-rooted spirit of disaffection, and a daring and determined intention "to make Jamaica a second Haiti."

I do not wish to add one word to intensify

the feelings of horror which the military massacres by Governor Eyre and his subordinates have excited throughout the country, but I have this day been credibly informed, that whilst the bodies of the condemned were swinging from the gibbet—life being scarcely extinct—those who were predestined to suffer the same fate were compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to dig their own graves and those of their fellow-victims.

I wish to make a remark upon the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor, that the two branches of the legislature should abolish themselves. The administrative antecedents of Lieutenant-Governor Eyre in Jamaica, are not such as to warrant confidence in the disinterestedness of this advice. I am in possession of private correspondence from my late friend G. W. Gordon, and from other gentlemen of position in the island, which discloses a system of corruption, shameless jobbery, reckless expenditure, and class legislation, unequalled, I believe, in the history of any country, and which would have infallibly produced a revolution in this. If, in the Upper House, the Governor found pliant tools who stifled honest but feeble opposition, he encountered in the House of Assembly a small but resolute band of patriots, who, although they could not prevent the passing of measures adverse to the general interests of the community, were nevertheless sufficiently strong often to bring the Government to a dead lock. Mr. Gordon was one of these sturdy reformers, and as he sustained a newspaper at his own expense, he commanded an influence no other man did, and which the Government dreaded. He was returned as a member of the House of Assembly in 1862; and, read by the light of recent events, it is a remarkable fact that Lieutenant-Governor Eyre accuses him of having commenced to conspire three years ago. This opposition was a healthy sign, and explains why enactments were framed restricting the franchise, and imposing a fine of 10s. for the registration of a vote. The people were gradually being taught the legitimate use of their constitutional rights, which they steadily refused to exercise to ensure the return of placemen, who devoured, in the shape of salaries and emoluments, a large portion of the fruits of their industry. It is only fair to that portion of the Jamaica community who now have the right of suffrage to shew that they have exercised it intelligently; and it might be well, before the present constitution is abolished, as is recommended, to venture on the experiment of reforming it, beginning by abolishing the governor.

27, New Broad Street, E.C., Dec. 2.

THE CONTINUED MASSACRES IN JAMAICA.

LETTER NO. VI.

SIR,—The following communication is from a gentleman for whom I can vouch. The revelations it contains are suggestive of cogent reasons for the most thorough inquiry into the administration of affairs in Jamaica for some years past.

27 New Broad Street, E.C.,
December 6, 1865.

"The latest intelligence from Jamaica must convince the most sceptical, that it was not so much to punish the atrocities committed in the district of Morant Bay, or to counteract the dreaded conspiracy to take effect on Christmas-day, as to suppress evidence of the social and political misconduct of the officials, that the butchery of some of the best men in Jamaica has taken place.

"The news of the arrest of Dr. Bruce, of the parish of Vere, was brought by the *Tasmanian*, and the intelligence by the *Shannon* is, that this amiable white man, a Scotchman in fact, a practising physician, and the coroner of the parish of Vere, was handed over to the tender mercy of the court-martial at Morant Bay, together with an Italian, and one *Morgan*, the confidential clerk of the Attorney-General. To these has to be added a Mr. Nathan, a lawyer, and member of Assembly; and finally I find a vessel of war is sent round to Morant Bay, where every thing was quiet, and the proprietor of the newspaper called the *County Union*, not a negro, but a Jew, is seized for an article written on the riots, and is brought up, with the very sweepings of his office, to Morant Bay, and placed in the custody of the Provost Marshal. What his fate has been his friends are unable to say.

"However, the proprietor, editor, and reporters of the *Watchman* newspaper are reported to have been executed, although they, like G. W. Gordon, were inhabitants of Kingston, specially exempted from martial law.

"The crime was, 'the personal, scurrilous, vindictive, and disloyal writings of a licentious and unscrupulous press.' Strange that such offences, punished by court-martial, could not long before have brought them before a criminal court. A specimen of these writings I cut out and annex.

"The Legislature is to meet on the 7th November, and there is every reason to believe that the session will be a very stormy one, and even to fear that the antagonism which exists between the Houses of Assembly will culminate in a stoppage of all legislation. The unpopularity of the Governor is continually increasing, and new causes of difference are constantly arising between the popular branch of the Legislature and himself. The two chief grounds of complaint at present are—First, the loss of a considerable sum in bank interest, by carelessness in passing warrants for the payment of public monies lodged in the colonial bank on an account considerably overdrawn, whereby 8000*l.* was overdrawn in one month, and 10,000*l.* in another month, on both

of which amounts the bank claimed eight per cent. interest, while all the time a sufficient sum of public money was lying in the bank, at three per cent, which was the fund which should have been drawn upon as soon as the first was exhausted. The second complaint is, that the Governor appointed Mr. Jordan to the post of Government and Island Secretary, the salary of which is 1200*l.* per annum, making at the same time an unlawful compact with him, that he was to pay half of the amount to the Governor's Private Secretary, for himself and the disbursements of his office. It does not appear that Mr. Jordan has complained of this, but it has nevertheless been taken up very warmly by the press.

"Bad as the Assembly undoubtedly was, Mr. Eyre may have had some *personal* reasons for wishing its abolishment. Had not the 'rebellion' created a diversion in his favour, the Assembly would have petitioned for his recall.

"Taking into account those despatched by the Maroons, let loose to slay and plunder, (besides their own arms, 800 rifles were distributed among them,) the number of victims captured and slaughtered has exceeded 3300. Besides the immense numbers executed and thrown into pits and covered over, the very air is so polluted with the dead, (the unburied carcasses of those despatched in the negro settlements and in the bush,) that whole tracts are uninhabitable, and the water in the rivers passing through the district, is tainted to their junction with the sea. Notwithstanding the promised amnesty, the repression, in a quiet way, still goes on, the mottoes of those in authority evidently being those of the king of France after the St. Bartholomew massacre: 'The corpse of an enemy always smells sweet,' and 'Dead men tell no tales.' Many a debtor has thus had a summary way of settling with his creditors, without the vulgar transference of coin.

"The denunciation of the Missionaries in Mr. Eyre's address to the Legislature on the 7th November is unfortunate. Although there are some noble exceptions, might he not see that the conduct of the Anglican clergy in Jamaica is far from being unexceptionable? The Bishop of Jamaica has been absent from his diocese many years, residing in Paris, out of the British dominions, yet drawing his salary; and the daily walk and conversation of many of the resident clergy is not what Mr. Eyre would himself approve.

"The defence set up for Governor Eyre by the *Times*, and other papers of that stamp, is the most remarkable that it is possible to conceive. We are told of his exploits in early life in a subordinate position in Australia, but not one word of his career in his former governments in the West Indies. His published despatches show, that in St. Vincent he was constant labouring under chimerical fears. Month after month he was craving for troops from the Secretary of State to preserve the public peace, while at the same time he was assuring the Assembly every thing was in a satisfactory state. At another time he was so alarmed at the report of a case of yellow fever being in a vessel in the harbour, that he passionately pressed the Legislature for a batch of medical officers to be imported and salaried at the public expense, in addition to the

regular practitioners in the island, who, at the time, were too numerous to secure sufficient practice for each. In a subordinate position, and to carry out the instructions of another, Mr. Edward John Eyre, perhaps, has no superior; but it was evident, nine years ago, that he was unfit for the supreme command of a colony with one-tenth the population of Jamaica. Prevention is better than cure, and one is tempted to ask why was St. Thomas-in-the-East so strangely neglected, with military precautions, while such pains were taken to prevent *expected* risings in other and less important parishes? Mr. Eyre writes to Mr. Cardwell; 'Not long since I called your attention to the necessity I was under in August last, of sending men-of-war to the parishes of St. James's, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth, Hanover, and Westmoreland, to intimidate the malcontents, and prevent an expected rising.' Why was not the same precaution adopted for St. Thomas-in-the-East, immediately on receipt of the Custos' express? The *Wolverine* could have been round in three hours to Morant Bay, and prevented the riot altogether. The rescue had occurred on the 7th, four days before, and the state of the parish was well known.

Another strange feature is, that Mr. Anderson could get no redress for the trespasses on Middleton from the local justices, so long as he was a private individual. But when he becomes immigration agent (an important official) it alters the case. The glaring inconsistency of this must have been evident to the negroes. It is, perhaps, unfair to throw the whole blame on Mr. Eyre for the deplorable events in Jamaica, as he doubtless expected some marked approval of his conduct, instead of censure from the Home Government, for his vigour, because, judging from precedent, he had some show of reason. He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, in defiance of a remonstrance from Jamaica; and one of his successors in the government of St. Vincent, only three years before the date of the affair at Morant Bay, proclaimed martial law, shot down unarmed peasants, and indiscriminately flogged a number of negroes, bearing a far larger proportion to the entire population of St. Vincent, than those despatched in St. Thomas-in-the-East bears to the whole population of Jamaica, while there was far less provocation to proceed to extremities. The rioters in St. Vincent did not touch a single person in authority, not even a police-constable; and they did not kill, or permanently injure, a single individual. Yet the Lieutenant-Governor, who, in a panic, proceeded to such severities, was not punished, but *promoted*, notwithstanding that very grave charges of official misconduct and personal oppression were preferred against him to the Secretary of State, and which, to this day, are, I believe, uninvestigated."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1865.

MEMORIALS TO MINISTERS ON THE JAMAICA MASSACRE.

THE subjoined is the text of the Memorial, and of the Appendix thereto, from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, on the subject of the Jamaica Massacre, presented by deputation on Saturday, the 9th current.

MEMORIAL.

To the Right Honourable E. CARDWELL,
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for
the Colonies.

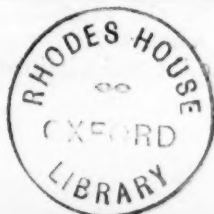
At a meeting held at the offices of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, on Friday, the 24th current, consisting of members of the Committee, of gentlemen connected with various Missionary Associations, and other gentlemen interested in the anti-Slavery cause, especially convened to take into consideration the circumstances of the recent riot in Jamaica, and the measures adopted for its suppression, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"That a deputation be appointed to wait upon the Right Honourable E. Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to urge on the Government the importance of their taking immediate steps for an impartial and a searching inquiry into the deplorable events which have recently occurred in Jamaica, and the causes which have occasioned them."

In accordance with this resolution the Committee would feel obliged by your appointing a day to receive the deputation.

The Committee have been most painfully impressed with the narrative of the alleged insurrection, as set forth in the despatch of Lieutenant-Governor Eyre. Not only does it appear to them not to bear out the assumption of a preconcerted movement, but the Lieutenant-Governor himself states that there existed no organization. It is also clearly established, that the Volunteer force fired first upon the people assembled in the Court-house Square at Morant Bay, which provoked them to an immediate and, unhappily, a sanguinary retaliation.

It also appears equally clear that the assemblage in the Court-house Square, on that occasion, consisted of parties on whom warrants had been served for contempt of court on the Saturday preceding, and who had come down with their friends duly to surrender to those warrants. No evidence



has been produced of a malevolent intention on their part; but, on the contrary, Paul Bogle, their alleged leader, was, the Committee are assured, a highly respectable and a peaceably-disposed man.

With reference to the case of trespass against the man Dick—heard on the Monday previous to the riot—who was fined, but was advised by Paul Bogle to appeal, and whose appeal was allowed, the Committee are also informed, upon what they consider to be reliable authority, that the prosecutor, Anderson, had, on previous occasions, attempted to obtain warrants against trespassers, but had failed, his title to the land trespassed upon being disputed. His appointment as immigration agent at length enabled him—as the Committee have reason to believe—to command the influence with the justices necessary to obtain warrants against trespassers.

On the preceding Saturday occurred the “chattering in court,” which resulted in the order to bring the man Geohegan before the bench for contempt. He made his escape into the Court-house Square, followed by the police-officers, and, on their attempting to seize him, was rescued; but the whole affair appeared so unimportant to the authorities, that no further notice seems to have been taken of it by them until after Dick’s case had been disposed of. The Committee would not be understood as attempting to defend any infraction of law, as exemplified in the rescue of the man Geohegan, but they are given to understand, the belief prevailed amongst the rescuers, that the justices had no legal right to proceed to arrest Geohegan for contempt without a warrant, when once he had escaped beyond the precincts of the court. Hence, Geohegan’s flight into the Court-house Square, and hence his rescue. It is also alleged, that the warrants for the arrest of Paul Bogle and others, for participation in the rescue, would not have been issued, but for his advice to Dick to appeal to a superior court against the verdict the justices had delivered against him.

Such were the circumstances which led to the assemblage in the Court-house Square, on the day of the riot; and the Committee most respectfully submit, that these circumstances are not contradicted by any evidence yet produced, ascribing to the terrible events which ensued a more serious origin. The Committee do not hesitate to affirm—whilst strongly condemning the subsequent outrages by the infuriated populace—that the firing into the mob by the volunteers, was a rash and unwarrantable act, involving the innocent with the guilty. The Committee also consider that the proclamation of martial law, and

the indiscriminate massacre of the coloured people, by the soldiers, sailors, and the Maroons, when all serious apprehension of further disturbances had ceased, were proceedings deserving the strongest reprobation. These people were hunted down in their own districts: the majority were unarmed, and numbers of them were not implicated in the riot.

The case of the Hon. G. W. Gordon presents features of the gravest character. His arrest, by the Lieutenant-Governor’s order, might or might not be a necessary measure of precaution, assuming the existence of any evidence to connect him with the riot. In going even thus far, and violating Mr. Gordon’s privileges as a member of Assembly, the Lieutenant-Governor might plead, in justification, the urgent necessity of placing him in safe custody during a time of popular excitement; but the Lieutenant-Governor, after causing him to be apprehended, on a civil warrant, in a district specially exempted from the operation of martial law, and many miles away from the scene of the riot, conveyed him to a town within the proclaimed district, and handed him over, for punishment, to a military tribunal. The Committee believe it will be found that this proceeding was flagrantly illegal, and that the Lieutenant-Governor has thereby laid himself open to a charge of the gravest character.

In delivering Mr. Gordon into the hands of Brigadier-General Nelson for punishment, Lieutenant-Governor Eyre assumed the responsibility of the result. The Committee emphatically question the competency of a drumhead court-martial, or of any more regularly-constituted military tribunal, to try Mr. Gordon for a civil offence, alleged, moreover, to have been committed antecedent to the proclamation of martial law, and not within the proclaimed district.

The Committee believe it to be highly desirable, in the interests of justice, humanity, law, and public order, that there should be a full, a searching, and a thoroughly-impartial inquiry into all the circumstances connected with these deplorable events. The Committee are further of opinion, that, in addition to the immediate steps which may be taken in this direction by Her Majesty’s Government, a Parliamentary investigation, embracing an inquiry into the operation of the existing laws, and the administration of the Government of Jamaica, is necessary, to meet all the requirements of the case.

While the Committee are prepared to believe in the existence of great dissatisfaction amongst the people of Jamaica, owing to the mal-administration of justice,

the numerous vexations to which they are subjected, the excessive taxation which burdens them, and the severe privations they have undergone, through the failure of their provision-crops and the curtailment of estate cultivation—the result of a two-years' drought—they are not prepared to admit that the emancipated classes are disloyal, still less that there has been produced any evidence of the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy to rebel against the Queen's authority, to massacre the white and the brown inhabitants, and to establish themselves as an independent people. The general condition of the island has long been unsatisfactory, but the Committee entertain the conviction, that, under a wise and just Government, its resources might be developed to an almost unlimited extent, and its population rendered prosperous and happy.

On behalf of the Committee,

S. GURNEY,
President.

G. W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman of the Committee, and
Treasurer of the Society.*

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

27 New Broad Street, E. C.,
Nov. 24, 1865.

APPENDIX.

To the Right Honourable EARL RUSSELL,
First Lord of the Treasury.

MY LORD,—As a reason for making any addition to the foregoing memorial, the Committee beg to state, that since it was adopted, the circumstances of the case appeared to render it desirable to seek an interview with your Lordship, as the head of Her Majesty's Government.

The most recent intelligence from Jamaica, embraces the reports of the Lieutenant-Governor's officers, his own official despatches, and his speech to the Assembly. Accepting these documents as furnishing evidence most favourable to Lieutenant-Governor Eyre himself, and his subordinates, the Committee are not only confirmed in the opinion they have expressed, upon the nature of the proceedings of which he has assumed the responsibility, but feel constrained to acknowledge the existence of a daily deepening impression that the retribution has been out of all proportion to the alleged offence.

The Committee believe they would not be the faithful representatives of the public sentiment, in relation to these terrible events, if they did not submit that this is a question involving the national character for justice and humanity; one which it

imperatively behoves Her Majesty's Ministers to deal with, in a manner that shall satisfy absolutely the national demand for a full, rigid, and impartial inquiry. The Committee are further of opinion, that Her Majesty's Government would be giving only an earnest of its intention to meet the exigencies of the case, by immediately recalling Lieutenant-Governor Eyre, in order to facilitate the searching investigation suggested; and by suspending from the exercise of their functions all the officers who have been concerned in these transactions.

The Committee observe that a Bill of Indemnity has been presented to the Legislature of Jamaica. They earnestly pray that, under present circumstances, it may not receive the sanction of the Crown.

The Committee most respectfully urge that the public anxiously await the production of evidence, as follows:

1st. In the case of alleged contempt of court, by the man Geohegan, on the 7th of October last, which led to his flight into the Court-House Square at Morant Bay, his attempted capture by the police, and his rescue by certain parties outside.

2nd. In the case of trespass, Anderson *versus* Dick, tried on the following Monday the 9th, and as to the circumstances under which the defendant appealed against the decision of the court.

3rd. In the matter of the Crown against Paul Bogle and others, for the rescue, as alleged, of the man Geohegan.

4th. The evidence establishing the truth of the assertion by Lieutenant-Governor Eyre, that there existed a wide-spread conspiracy of the blacks, to rise against the white and coloured population, to overthrow the Government, and to take the lives and the property of the whites.

5th. The evidence upon which Lieutenant-Governor Eyre alleges that the riot at Morant Bay was a premature outbreak of the conspiracy aforesaid.

6th. The names of the parties implicated, and of the witnesses testifying against them.

7th. The evidence upon which Lieutenant-Governor Eyre asserts, in his speech to the Legislature, that there is now a "wide-spread and deeply-rooted spirit of disaffection, and a daring and determined intention to make Jamaica a second Haiti."

8th. A list of the persons who have been executed or flogged by sentence of court-martial, and the evidence upon which each was convicted.

9th. A list of the total number of persons flogged without any trial.

10th. The constitution of the several courts-martial, and a statement of the time occupied in the investigation of each case.

11th. A statement setting forth the number of dwelling-houses burnt or other-

wise destroyed by the military, the militia, and the Maroons.

12th. A copy of the instructions, if any, given to the Maroons, and a statement of the length of time they were let loose upon the people.

13th. A list of the total number of white persons killed or injured by the alleged "rebels."

14th. The evidence upon which Lieutenant-Governor Eyre ordered the arrest of the late G. W. Gordon, and his deportation from Kingston into a proclaimed district.

15th. The evidence which was taken at his trial, and the circumstances under which he was put to death.

The Committee most respectfully submit, that the production of evidence upon all these points is indispensable to meet the requirements of justice, and they sincerely trust that Her Majesty's Government will forthwith take the necessary steps to procure it.

On behalf of the Committee.

S. GURNEY,
President.

G. W. ALEXANDER,
*Treasurer of the Society, and
Chairman of the Committee.*

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

27, New Broad Street, E. C.,
Dec. 8th, 1865.

DEPUTATION TO MINISTERS.

ON Saturday, the 9th current, a deputation from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, waited upon the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, to present a memorial on the subject of the Jamaica massacres. The Right Hon. Earl Russell had appointed to receive the deputation at three o'clock, jointly with Mr. Cardwell, at his Lordship's official residence in Downing Street, but was prevented from doing so in consequence of continued indisposition. The deputation was so numerous that private application had to be made to prepare for its accommodation, and Mr. Cardwell most courteously afforded all the facility in his power, by obtaining the use of "Earl Russell's room" at the Treasury.

The deputation included delegates from the following places:—Bristol (7), Brighton (8), Gloucester (1), Bradford (2), Cirencester (1), Reading (2), Sunderland (10), Birmingham (7), Liverpool (1), Manchester (1), Canterbury (4), Worcester (1), Woburn (1), Oxford (4), Southampton (3), Kendal (3), Southwicke (1), Rochester (3), Glasgow (1), Warrington (1), Lewes (1), Hertford (2), Gravesend (2), Chelmsford (1), Croydon (5), Ipswich (2), Chatham (2),

Woodford (1), Nottingham (1), Stroud (1).

The following members of Parliament were present:—

Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.; Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., M.P., Lynn; G. Carr Glyn, Esq., M.P., Kendal; Thomas Hughes, Esq., M.P., Lambeth; Peter A. Taylor, Esq., M.P., Leicester; Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., Penryn; Charles Gilpin, Esq., M.P., Northampton; Colonel Sykes, M.P., Aberdeen; T. W. M. Torrens, Esq., M.P., Finsbury; James White, Esq., M.P., Brighton.

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* were represented by Messrs. Joseph Cooper, Thomas Binns, Josiah Forster, G. W. Alexander, W. S. Lean, William Allen, Edmund Sturge, Robert Alsop, Charles Wise, A. W. Bennett, Henry Sterry, and F. Wheeler.

Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., M.P.; Mr. Chamberlain Scott (City of London), and Dr. Tomkins, attended as representatives of the *Freedmen's-Aid Society*, some of the provincial branches of which also sent delegates.

The following were deputations from

Bristol—George Thomas, William Tanner, Thomas Pease, William Somerville, Esqs.; the Revs. N. Haycroft, Samuel Hebditch, and David Thomas (President of the Congregational Union). *Brighton*—C. Gilpin, M.P., J. White, M.P., Marriage Wallis; D. P. Hack, W. D. Savage, D. Friend, W. H. Fry, J. Glaskin, Esqs. *Birmingham*—E. Sturge, W. Morgan, Arthur Albright, Esqs.; Messrs. Alderman Goodrick, J. P., W. Middlemore, J. P., Alderman Manton, Councillor Baldwin. *Liverpool*—J. W. Cropper, Esq. *Southwick*—R. H. Penney. *Rochester*—F. Wheeler, C. S. Bonham, W. Peto, Esq., J. P. *Oxford*—Professor Rogers, Professor Goldwin Smith, R. C. Fisher, J. M. Davenport (Brazenose). *Chelmsford*—Thomas Johns. *Croydon*—John Morland, John Morland, jun., C. C. Morland, Henry Binns. *Sunderland*—E. Backhouse, C. J. Wilson, J. Mouncey, Joshua Wilson, Henry Wilson, Watson Binns, John Peacock, T. Blair, A. Common, J. Hills. *Southampton*—Joseph Clark, Esq., Edward Palk, J. P., C. B. Phippard, Esq. *Glasgow*—Thomas Corbett. *Warrington*—John Crossfield. *Lewes*—Caleb R. Kemp. *Hertford*—William Pollard, Joseph Bettinson. *Gravesend*—George Sturge, C. M. Elkin. *Kendal*—C. L. Braithwaite, J. Halcro, J. Thompson, G. C. Glynn, Esq., M.P. *Ipswich*—E. Grimwade, F. Alexander. *Chatham*—R. J. Buckhurst, H. T. Cook, Esqs. *Woodford*—Andrew Johnston. *Gloucester*—F. Nicholson, Esq. *Nottingham*—J. S. Gilpin. *Bradford*—Alderman West, Alfred Harris. *Stroud*—William Brewin.

Woburn—B. Wiffen. *Cirencester*—Thomas Brewin, Esq. *Croydon*—A. Crowley. *Reading*—George Palmer, Esq., Samuel Rosling. *Manchester*—J. H. Estcourt, Esq. *Canterbury*—J. Horsnail, A. Cannon, Esq., Rev. A. W. Herritage, S. Carter. *Worcester*—William Burgess, Esq.

Upwards of 250 gentlemen in all attended, amongst whom, besides the foregoing, were the following:

The Revs. J. Sinclair, D. Nimmo, W. Tyler, C. Gilbert, W. T. Henderson, J. H. Morgan, J. H. Wilson, E. Dennett, W. Gill, A. W. Herritage, Dr. Burns, T. Binney, John Jeffries, K. Hardin, T. Wall, J. Kersop, W. K. Rowe, G. Martin, Daniel Thomas, R. Wallis, Ebenezer Davis, Aspinall Hampson, J. Stanyon, Dr. Osborn, J. Wills, J. Martin, John M'Kenny, Philip Guest, S. B. Sloman, R. Spears, F. W. Briggs, G. Smith, Henry Richard, W. Morton Mather, Henry Solly, B. Davis, G. S. Ingram, James Spong, Charles Kirkland, Frederick Trestrail, W. B. Boyce, J. H. Rigg, D. D., J. Teal, Francis Tucker, — Rattenbury, William Taylor, J. H. Hinton, James Frame, Dawson Burns, J. Russell, Dr. Waddington, John Bigwood, William Gell, George Martin, Henry Ryland, David Thomas (Congregational Union), R. Wallis, E. Davis, T. Billingar, John Scott, W. Reed, Dr. Raleigh, Henry Dods, Samuel Garrat, G. Bailey, Robert Spears, S. Gray, S. M'All, William Bevan, J. C. Galloway, G. W. Fishbourne, J. W. Todd, William Gill, John M'Kenny, T. Natrass, Samuel Hebditch, David King, George Short, Rhys Jones, J. E. Rogers, J. Russell, David Jones, Samuel Green, N. Haycroft, Charles Brake, J. S. Hall, John Pillans, Newman Hall, George Rabbeth, &c. &c.

Richard Smith, Thomas Faulkes, Jonathan Elkin, W. Rainy, J. R. Taylor, John Hilton, H. Pringle, H. Balmon, C. Martin, Colonel Salwey, W. T. Sargent, C. W. Galloway, — Hall, Justin M'Carthy, F. W. Chesson, William Tuck, W. Griffith, J. Halcro, Septimus Moore, Charles Wilson, William Morris, T. A. Burr, Charles Culling, H. Everest, J. C. M'Naughton, S. Russell, A. Rickson, L. Bellott, W. G. Wilkins, V. Scholcher, G. Galloway, W. Tweedie, J. Broomhall, Taylor Pritchard, W. Noble, Charles Willis, C. Burchett, P. Balfern, S. Fox. — Pincus, W. Bryant, Francis Lycett, W. R. Selway, W. Robinson, Professor Hall, W. Willis, — Catherrall, W. Morris, — Blythe, W. Sheldrick, W. H. Reynolds, F. W. Newman, J. P. Bacon, P. Smith, S. Bligh, J. K. Wilson, R. Hutton, W. Shaen, A. Mewton, H. Keen, J. Edwards, Gilbert Blight, Joseph Bruce, R. B. Waters, Robert Wilkinson, R. A. Wilson, Thomas Carter, F. Buzzing, Mr. Ivimey, Henry R. Ellington, W. A. Marsh,

John Burchett, John Campion, William Summerville, Raymond Beesley (Professor), Edwin T. Broad, Colonel Rolandson, J. T. Colsell, Edward Rhodes, Arnold Thomas, S. Seaward Taylor, Thomas Cash, Professor Leoni Levi, William Sheldrick, Edward Miles, Frederick Edge, Joseph Soul, — Blight, W. H. Reynolds, Harry Taylor, Alexander M'Arthur, William M'Arthur, Thomas Pillow, Lloyd Jones, J. M. Ludlow, J. P. Brown, Samuel Plimsoll, Stephen Pewtress, Robert Bendall, Robert Waters, Robert Smith, W. Carpenter, Hugh Edwards, Edmond Beales, Esqs., &c. &c.

MR. SAMUEL GURNEY, M.P.—Mr. Cardwell, as President of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I have great pleasure in introducing this deputation to you. I do not know that it is necessary for me to make any remark on this occasion, except to say that I most fully concur in the address.

MR. CHAMEROVZOW then proceeded to read the memorial adopted on the 24th of November. (*Vide p. 301.*)

MR. CHAMEROVZOW.—This is the memorial which the Committee adopted and addressed to yourself. A copy of this memorial was also addressed to Earl Russell, whom the deputation hoped to see to-day. Last evening a special meeting of the Committee was held, when it was judged expedient to prepare an Appendix to that memorial, a copy of which was sent to Earl Russell, and which, with your permission, I will now read.

MR. CHAMEROVZOW then read the appendix (*Vide p. 303*), and afterwards handed to Mr. Cardwell memorials adopted at public meetings held at Shotley-bridge, Durham, and at Canterbury, and also a memorial from the Baptist church and congregation of Eythorne, Kent, in the name of the delegates present from those places.

MR. ALEXANDER then said: I feel I should be trespassing on the kindness of the Colonial Secretary if I were to say many words on this occasion. But I wish simply to state my conviction of the truth of the whole of the statements set forth in the document to which I have affixed my signature. I was in Jamaica about fifteen years ago. I visited that island, as well as many others of the British Colonies, for the purpose of seeing personally the results of emancipation. My stay was not sufficiently long to enable me to speak with very great confidence with regard to their condition; but my experience certainly goes to confirm what I have since heard and seen stated by Missionaries with regard to the general condition of the people, and with regard to the misgovernment of the island. I may also state that I have very recently received communications from several Missionaries which confirm the very great distress that exists in the island. I think it would be somewhat presumptuous in me to refer particularly to the report made by the Governor of Jamaica, but I confess there are two or three passages that have struck me as indicating very

great want of judgment on his part. Among these I may particularly refer—and I think it will hardly have escaped the attention of the Colonial Secretary—to the circumstance that he alleges that Dr. Underhill had taken, equally with George William Gordon, a part calculated to produce this insurrection. Now I believe that neither of them are to be charged with the deplorable proceedings that have taken place in the island; that the one is equally innocent with the other. Again, I am sorry to perceive the terms which the Governor of Jamaica has thought fit to use with regard to certain religious bodies in this country, and those whom he calls pseudo-philanthropists. I think it is exceedingly unbecoming in the Governor of a Colony thus to stigmatize persons who had been, it was true, instrumental in procuring the abolition of slavery in the British West-India colonies; and, I hope, in leading to the abolition of slavery throughout the world. I think, too, that it is exceedingly unbecoming on the part of an influential portion of the press to use every opportunity in their power of maligning the negro population of our colonies—of maligning that population, apparently forgetful of the circumstance that so long as slavery existed the white population of those islands deliberately and obstinately set themselves to prevent every measure of improvement that was proposed; and it was in consequence of that circumstance—in consequence of the cruelties of those men, and their determined opposition to Missionary efforts—in consequence of their determination not to admit of any amelioration, even so far as the punishment of women was concerned—it was in consequence of these circumstances that the abolition of slavery, and ultimately of the apprenticeship, took place. They seem to have forgotten the dreadful enormities committed while slavery and the apprentice system existed. I must say, that, so far as I have any knowledge on the subject, I do not think the white population have done any thing like their duty with regard to the negro population in Jamaica. If they had done so, we should have seen a very different state of things from that which exists now in that country. And, moreover, I believe one of the great causes of the deteriorated state of Jamaica arises from the circumstance that there is not an influential body of white men using that influence which they ought to have with the whole of the population. A large portion of the planters, or those who represent them—for I am sorry to say there are very few of them residents—a large proportion of those persons do nothing to promote the education or the religious improvement of the people, while many of them set a very bad example as regards morality.

The Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR.—I assure you, Sir, that with me it is one of the most painful duties of my public life to have to appear to say a word against a British authority, and to call in public question the action of a representative of the best Queen that ever the world produced. But, Sir, the friends of order lose their standing ground when authority rises up against law, and it is a cruel alternative when a man is obliged either to call in question the conduct of the representative, or to acquiesce in proceedings which

would lower the honour of the Sovereign before the world. I know, Sir, that I represent no body by delegation except myself; but in reality, and in point of feeling, I represent multitudes of the most loyal subjects the Queen has throughout her dominions; and I must say that this moment is, for the honour of England, one of the most critical that I ever knew. It is not to be disguised, Sir, that during the last four years, by the writings of a great portion of our press, and by other public manifestations, we have lost in the world the moral prestige which we enjoyed in former years. I believe that, in the result, God means out of this shock to bring the restoration of that moral influence. You may remember, Sir, that any one who travelled the eastern and southern parts of Europe after the Crimean War found that the military prestige of England was weakened. The shock of the Indian mutiny came, and Providence gave us back by that trial a great deal more than we had lost. Our moral influence as friends of freedom and tellers of truth has suffered among the intelligent friends of England on the Continent. I believe God has permitted a proof to come which will show the heart of the people of England, and that we shall stand again where we stood before, able to face the world, and to do good everywhere. With regard to these memorials, I should say that I am not prepared to adopt every part of the first one. In some things I am prepared to go beyond it. The part in regard to which I should guard myself against being supposed to give any opinion is as to the prudence or imprudence of firing upon the crowd, the sufficiency or insufficiency of the provocation. I do not yet see the time and the position to commit myself to a public opinion on that point. And, Sir, so long as the acts of the authority were confined to any colourable show of punishment, of punishment for crime committed and crime proved, I should not only stand by them, but I should give to men in a panic very great and liberal allowance. Even when matters were critical, things beyond the strict line of punishment to what was popularly understood as military vengeance, political vengeance, I should still, while clearly taking my private view, be very cautious as to any step I took with regard to public censure. But, Sir, when you go beyond the pretext of punishment, or the pretext of vengeance, and it comes to a simple question of prevention, I then stand upon ground on which I do not know that Englishmen were ever placed before. At this moment every man in Europe is asking, Does the Government of England, or does it not, consider it a matter for deliberation (making all allowances for punishment and all for ordinary vengeance), that at least a thousand people, British subjects, should have been put to death in October, because it was apprehended they might rise at Christmas—whether that is or is not a thing to be censured? that is the position in which we stand at this moment before the world. With regard to the observations of Mr. Alexander as to the blacks and the whites in Jamaica, in all my writings and speeches (and I have done as much of it as most men of my age) I defy any one to shew one word over-estimating the black man; and I am quite prepared in matters of common sense to test different

opinions by the great test of results. But, Sir, I must say this, the writings of the last few years have prepared a state of opinion all round the coast of Africa, and wherever the Englishman and the black come into contact, of which you in the Colonial Office may be prepared to find the fruit. That state of opinion is this: to destroy the old British sentiment of kindness and generosity towards the black and to raise up the old Spanish sentiment which the negro feels by instinct even afar off. It was under the British sentiment we gained power, and the relapse into the Spanish feeling will assuredly bring us down. I say, with regard to Jamaica I stand man by man with the nominally-Christian blacks—and they are only one-half of the population; one half of the island is nominally heathen yet—I will stand man by man and count them out with the whites for public life and private life. You will find, Sir, in the other parts of the world, that until lately the black has trusted the Englishman, looked up to him; the English name has been a name to charm with. Among these people in Jamaica you find, making honourable exceptions, and numerous ones, that, still taking the whites as a class, no black man will trust their word, or trust them in money transactions. I hope, Sir, that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to do justice, and to do it promptly, and to do it so that there should be no mistake. Those poor people, who are spoken of as if they were brute beasts, tens of thousands of them are, in the dearest, sense my brethren, my brethren in the Gospel of Christ; many of them weak brethren, needing indulgence; many of them fit to be compared with the most beautiful examples of Christian virtue in any age of the Church of God. I shall stand by them, and so will many others. Their rights of conscience, their property and lives, ought to be as sacred as our own.

MR. ALDERMAN MANTON of Birmingham: I have very few words to say after the remarks that have already been made. I know that public opinion in the large town from which I come is much excited. They feel that justice to the coloured man, the honour of the English Cabinet and of the English nation, all alike demand for a thoroughly searching investigation. We come, Sir, to express that as our conviction, and that any thing short of that will have a very demoralizing influence on the whole of the English nation. We also hope to gather, if possible—it may not be prudent to ask—whether the Government do intend taking any speedy action, and whether they intend to sanction the Bill for flogging that has been passed by the Jamaica Legislature. I feel quite sure that Her Majesty's Government will feel their own honour will be damaged unless a speedy investigation, and that an impartial one, is made.

MR. THOMAS HUGHES, M.P.—Sir, I am here to-day, not as one of this Committee who have presented this address; I am not one of that Committee, and I had not heard the address read before I came here to-day. I am here as representing a great constituency close by, in which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is but one feeling on this subject. I am here also as a private Englishman, jealous of the honour of England. I do not come here sup-

posing it will be necessary for us to press upon any English Government—I am quite sure it will not be necessary for us to press upon a Government composed as the present Government is—the necessity of a strict, rigid, and impartial inquiry into what has happened in Jamaica. But I do feel there is something that we have to urge upon you to-day. We are sure that a strict inquiry will be made; but I think it is our duty to urge upon you, in order that that inquiry may be fair, that Lieutenant-Governor Eyre should certainly, temporarily at least and while the inquiry is going on, be brought over to this country. We are perfectly convinced, (that is to say, I am personally, and all those to whom I have spoken, and whom I to a certain extent represent), that no real searching inquiry can be made during his presence in the island. We have also to urge upon you the necessity of not allowing that Indemnity Act to become operative. Those are the only two points which I feel it necessary for myself or my constituents to urge upon you; and I think, composed as the present Government is, that we shall get satisfaction in this matter, and shall get what is the first desire, I suppose, of every Englishman worthy of the name, a thoroughly strict and impartial inquiry into the fearful circumstances that have lately taken place in Jamaica.

Sir T. F. BUXTON: I am here for the purpose of representing the Freedmen's-Aid Society of London, which also embraces many gentlemen from various parts of the country, and of expressing their general sympathy, at all events, with the address that has been read. I also desire to express my own sympathy with the memorial; I will not say with all its details, for I have not given it much attention, and did not, in fact, read it until I entered this room. I am not, therefore, prepared to say much upon the subject, except that I strongly concur in the opinion that has just been expressed by Mr. Hughes, that Governor Eyre should be recalled from Jamaica, no less in the interest of those who have lately suffered so grievously, than in his own. It cannot be supposed that we shall have an investigation on which all people will rely, if he, of whom it is said he has become a leader of a party in the colony, continues in office, and at the head of the executive in the colony. However fairly he may in the future behave—and I am sure we cannot expect that any British officer will try to behave otherwise than fairly—still we cannot suppose that the negroes, after the terrible inflictions that have been laid on them, will not be absolutely afraid to give any evidence they may have to give on the subject. I think that would very greatly weaken and invalidate any evidence that might be laid before a Commission, would shake confidence in it, both on its side and on the side of the negro; and therefore I give my adhesion to the opinion that has been expressed by Mr. Hughes.

MR. McCULLOCH TORRENS, M.P.: I believe I express the sentiment of every man in this room when I say to you, Sir, in perfect good faith, that we are not here to-day either to urge the Government to precipitate action, or to incur the charge which has been brought against us very widely, of asking you to condemn a man unheard. Our

prayer to you is, to hear that man, to hear him where you know he can alone be fully and fairly heard—within the realm of England. We believe we are not unfounded in the hope that Her Majesty's Government will be prepared in due time, and in your own way—for we hold you, Sir, responsible, and we shall not divide that responsibility with you, not for an hour—to institute a full and complete inquiry into the political grievances and the economic errors of Jamaica legislation; but for to-morrow we leave that question in your hands without reserve. But we have a duty to perform that we owe to ourselves. The question of yesterday must not be mingled with the question of to-morrow. We have to deal now with our own honour as a people. That honour has been slighted; our conscience as a nation has been stung as it never was before. Now I will put aside, for one, and I ask you all to put aside the hisses from neighbouring countries that meet our ears. I happened to be in the capital of a neighbouring country when this dreadful news reached there, and I own I winced, for the first time in my life, at the scoff that, under the mask of good breeding, met me everywhere from men of every other nation. I put that all aside, and I ask my friends to put it aside. We can wait for our dignity, but we cannot wait to do our duty. Now as long as the gripe of triumphant repression is upon the throat of the colony, you know, Sir, as Secretary of the Colonies, you will never hear the truth. And what I ask you to do is, to take off that gripe, and let the truth be spoken fully and freely. Send whom you will to be the future Governor of Jamaica; we never shall arrogate to ourselves even a suggestion as to that. Give him ample powers; send him, as you sent Lord Durham, with an amnesty in his hand; tell him to inquire from all classes, as to what provoked, wrongly or rightly, insubordination and discontent; and when he has made his report, you will be enabled to advise Parliament what to do. We can wait for that, but we cannot wait in regard to another matter. Governor Eyre, in his despatches—I am not going to say one word of the man, I do not think that is necessary—in his despatches and speech to the Assembly, endorsed, and therefore, made it his, the report of such an officer as Captain Ford. In Ford's report I find these words, after detailing floggings without trial, shootings without arrest, and hangings after brief inquiry, by boys in regimentals from the ships, and by partisans who may wear the military or volunteer livery of the island: "The soldiers enjoy it." "The people are filled with dread. When they run away we shoot them." Sir, we are here in the capacity of witnesses before a grand jury. We have to make out a *prima facie* case with temper and forbearance, and no more. The Cabinet is the grand jury in great political cases, to whom we appeal. If you, upon your information, much more full than ours, decide that there is no ground for putting these authorities upon their trial, then, of course, our case so far fails, and we must look elsewhere. But I will not cherish even the supposition that that can be so. I have that good faith in the good-heartedness of the men who have been laden with a heavy

burden of responsibility in this matter—and I assure you, Sir, as one who sat when in Parliament with you, I feel your responsibility to be very great indeed—I have that faith in the good disposition of public men in this country, to believe, that without regard to party or predilection, they will do their duty when called upon. I therefore do ask you to recall Governor Eyre, not with ignominy, not in any way which, before a jury in the Court of Queen's Bench, or in Parliament, could be cited to his dishonour; but to give him an opportunity of clearing himself, and of clearing us, from the stigma, the terrible and unprecedented stigma of those things which we need not describe, but with which we are too painfully familiar. His trial to be fair, must be here. It may be expensive and dilatory, but the history of our political jurisprudence is full of instances where these things have had to be faced, and having had the great privilege of sitting upon a Parliamentary Committee once with the late Sir Robert Peel and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer to try a Governor for excesses of authority not be compared, either in number or degree, with the present case, I do not feel that I am talking rashly or without book when I say the way to justice is open to you; in God's name take it.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR, M.P.: Mr. Cardwell, I will, with your permission, but express my feeling upon one single point, and that very shortly. If I did not think it a very important one I would not deem it necessary to say a word. Every speaker who has preceded me has made it the principal part of his argument, and I venture to express my own humble opinion that the honour of England and the security of the Government require the instant recall of Governor Eyre and every one responsibly connected with the late events in the island of Jamaica. Sir, we are told that we should suspend our judgment until we get sufficient evidence. That is an appeal which is never lost upon justice-loving, fair-dealing Englishmen; but, Sir, in this case, not only not judging upon points that we have not before us, but accepting as proved all that Governor Eyre has suggested or asserted, I beg leave to maintain that the claim for his instant recall is hardly weakened by that assumption. The people who have been connected with the late events there cannot be the right men in the right place for the pacification of the island, for the vindication of English honour and English justice, by a full inquiry into what has taken place. I beg leave to repeat, Sir, my humble opinion that our honour, our credit, and our position require the immediate recall of those connected with the late events.

The Rev. DAVID THOMAS: I happen to be Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and I only wish to say, that no words of mine can adequately express the anxious and intense feeling of the Congregation of Churches of England and Wales upon this subject, and no words of mine can adequately express the attitude of expectancy with which they are looking forward to the action of the Government at this time. I should say no more, but that I have a question to ask, which I am sure will be felt by Mr. Cardwell and all present to be one of

deep interest to this meeting, and to all those whom the meeting may be supposed to represent. It will be in your recollection, Sir, that in the very last speech made by Governor Eyre, he states that for a long time the colony of Jamaica has been on the brink of a volcano. I wish to ask, Sir, whether, during the last six months—I mean during the six months that preceded the insurrection—Governor Eyre made any communications to the authorities in this country in support of that conclusion, and whether Mr. Cardwell is willing to lay those communications, and the Government replies to them, before the public at once, or before Parliament immediately at its opening?

A gentleman of the Deputation: That is a most pertinent question, and this meeting ought not to break up without receiving a distinct answer to it.

Mr. CARDWELL: Gentlemen, I am exceedingly sorry that indisposition has prevented Earl Russell from being present, as he would otherwise have been, to receive you here to-day. If he could have been here, I am sure he would have told you, as I tell you now, that no words can express the pain and anxiety which the consideration of this subject has given to him and to every member of his Government. Gentlemen, your request to-day is, that we should "take immediate steps for an impartial and a searching inquiry into the deplorable events which have recently occurred in Jamaica, and the causes which have occasioned them. Her Majesty's Government have anticipated that request. They have determined that there shall be forthwith a full, an impartial, and an independent inquiry. The arrangements for conducting that inquiry have already made some progress; they will be completed with as little delay as is compatible with their satisfactory completion. I hope that my information respecting the progress that is being made in them will undoubtedly go to Jamaica by the very next mail. It is our desire that nothing should be excluded that can lead to the accomplishment of the object that you have in view—the most complete and the most perfect knowledge upon the whole of the subject. When the inquiry is over, when knowledge is fully in our possession, you will not find us disposed to palliate or excuse any thing that is deserving of reprobation. In the mean time, I am sure you will feel that the request for inquiry imposes upon every man that which my duty imposes upon me more, perhaps, than upon any other man, the necessity of saying nothing, and even thinking nothing, which is incompatible and inconsistent with the freedom and the fairness of that inquiry. I should have stopped here if it had not been that so much reference has been made to the name of Governor Eyre by preceding speakers. Governor Eyre is not known personally to me; he is known to me only by his reputation. It has always been the reputation of a man of courage and humanity. If I may judge by the distress which receiving this intelligence inflicts upon a person in my position, what must I think of a person who finds himself placed in the position in the colony in which Governor Eyre has been placed. Whatever you may think, and whatever your feelings may be

upon other parts of his conduct, you must feel the deepest sympathy for any man placed in that position. You must feel that if the disturbance that took place had not been immediately brought to a close, disastrous consequences of the worst kind might have followed. (Cries of "No, No," and "Question.") Gentlemen, you have come for a fair inquiry. I trust the spirit of fairness will characterize all who hear me. I feel it to be my bounden duty, after listening to so many remarks, to say that which I have now said. With regard to that part of Governor Eyre's conduct which you desire shall be the subject of inquiry, it is about, as I have told you, to be the subject of a full, an impartial, and an independent inquiry. I entirely concur with some of the speakers, that Governor Eyre himself will be the first person to welcome the opportunity of such an inquiry. I am desirous that inquiry should be full and complete; and by the result of that inquiry, for one, my conduct shall be guided. I can only assure you in conclusion, gentlemen, that the arrangements, as I have said, are all in progress: they are intended to secure a full and a complete inquiry, and I trust I shall very soon be able to make them known to the public.

A VOICE: Will you not answer the question with respect to the recall, and the other question.

Mr. CARDWELL: The answer I shall give to you with respect to the arrangements is this: that they are in progress; that I hope they will in a very short time be made known to the public; and that, therefore, those who came in the spirit of fairness, which I understand animates you, ought to allow me to declare those arrangements as one announcement, and not to persist in asking these questions.

The Rev. DAVID THOMAS: I presume the question I put is one that cannot be answered.

Mr. CARDWELL: What was that?

The Rev. DAVID THOMAS: Whether Governor Eyre made any communication to the Government of this country six months before the insurrection broke out in support of his own allegation that the colony had for a long time been on the brink of a volcano?

Mr. CARDWELL: The answer I shall make to you is this: I have been in correspondence with Governor Eyre upon the state of Jamaica during the whole of the current year. That correspondence is all passing through the press, for the purpose of being laid before Parliament at its meeting.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW thanked Mr. Cardwell, in the name of the deputation, for the courtesy he had shewn in making arrangements for the accommodation of so large a number of gentlemen.

The deputation then withdrew.

[Certain newspapers having given currency to the statement made by the *Observer*, that a member of the deputation exclaimed "Yes, by the neck," when Sir T. F. Buxton advocated the suspension of Governor Eyre, and these newspapers

having refused to insert the Secretary's contradiction, we beg to state that no such exclamation reached our ears, and we have been assured by several members of the deputation, that they do not believe it was uttered.]

THE ACTS TO PUNISH COLONIAL GOVERNORS.

THE Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* stated, in his letters to the daily journals, upon the alleged insurrection in Jamaica, that he believed Lieutenant-Governor Eyre and his subordinates were amenable to justice, under certain Acts of Parliament. We append a copy of them, for the information of our readers, and for reference in case of need.

THE 11TH AND 12TH WILLIAM III., CAP. 12.

"An Act to punish Governors of plantations in this kingdom, for crimes by them committed in the plantations."

"Whereas a due punishment is not provided for several crimes and offences committed out of this His Majesty's realm of England, whereof divers Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Deputy-Governors, or Commanders-in-chief of plantations and colonies within His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, have taken advantage, and have not been deterred from oppressing His Majesty's subjects within their respective Governments and commands, nor from committing several other great crimes and offences, not deeming themselves punishable for the same in England, nor accountable for such their crimes and offences to any person within their respective governments and commands: for remedy thereof, Be it enacted, That if any Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Deputy-Governor, or Commander-in-chief of any plantation or colony within His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, shall be guilty of oppressing any of His Majesty's subjects beyond the seas, within their respective governments or commands, or shall be guilty of any other crime or offence, contrary to the laws of this realm, or in force within their respective governments or commands, such oppressions, crimes, and offences, shall be inquired of, heard, and determined in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench in England, or before such Commissioners, and in such county of this realm, as shall be assigned by His Majesty's Commission, and by good and lawful men of the same county; and that such punishments shall be inflicted on such offenders, as are usually inflicted for offences of like nature committed in England."

THE 42ND GEORGE III., CAP. 85.

An Act for the trying and punishing in Great Britain persons holding public employments, for offences committed abroad; and for extending the provisions of an Act, passed in the twenty-first year of the reign of King James, made for the ease of Justices and others in

pleading in suits brought against them, to all persons, either in or out of this kingdom, authorized to commit to safe custody.

"Whereas persons holding and exercising public employments out of Great Britain often escape punishment for offences committed by them, for want of courts having a sufficient jurisdiction, in or by reason of their departing from the country or place where such offences have been committed, and that such persons cannot be tried in Great Britain for such offences as the law now stands, inasmuch as such offences cannot be laid to have been committed within the body of any county; and whereas it is therefore expedient that such and the like provisions as are contained in an Act passed in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of His late Majesty King William the Third, intituled, *An Act to punish Governors of Plantations of this Kingdom for Crimes by them committed in the Plantations*, and in an Act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled, *An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East-India Company, as well in India as in Europe*, and in an Act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled, *An Act for the better Regulation and Management of the Affairs of the East-India Company, and of the British Possessions in India, and for establishing a Court of Judicature for the more speedy and effectual Trial of Persons accused of Offences committed in the East Indies*, should be extended and applied to the punishment of such offenders: May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this Act, if any person who now is, or heretofore has been, or shall hereafter be employed by or in the service of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, in any civil or military station, office, or capacity out of Great Britain, or shall heretofore have had, held, or exercised, or now has, holds, or exercises, or shall hereafter have, hold, or exercise any public station, office, capacity, or employment, out of Great Britain, shall have committed, or shall commit, or shall have heretofore been, or is, or shall hereafter be guilty of any crime, misdemeanour, or offence, in the execution, or under colour, or in the exercise of any such station, office, capacity, or employment as aforesaid, every such crime, offence, or misdemeanour may be prosecuted or enquired of, and heard and determined in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench here in England, either upon an information exhibited by His Majesty's Attorney-General, or upon an indictment found, in which information or indictment such crime, offence, or misdemeanour may be laid and charged to have been committed in the county of Middlesex, and all such persons so offending, and also all persons tried under any of the provisions of the said recited Act, passed in the reign of King William aforesaid, or this Act, or either of them, for any offence, crime, or

misdeemeanour, and not having been before tried for the same out of *Great Britain*, shall, on conviction, be liable to such punishment as may, by any law or laws now in force, or any Act or Acts that may hereafter be passed, be inflicted for any such crime, misdeemeanour, or offence committed in *England*, and shall also be liable, at the discretion of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, to be adjudged to be incapable of serving His Majesty in any station, office, or capacity, civil or military, or of holding or exercising any public employment whatever.

"II. And be it further enacted, That in all cases of indictments found or informations exhibited under and by virtue of this Act, it shall be lawful for His Majesty's said Court of King's Bench, upon motion to be made, and such notice thereof as to the said Court of King's Bench may appear to be sufficient, by or on behalf of His Majesty's Attorney-General or other prosecutor, or of the defendant or defendants, to award at the discretion of the said Court, a writ or writs of *Mandamus* to any Chief Justice and Judges, or any Chief Justice or other Judge singly for the time being, of any Court or Courts of Judicature in the country or island, or near to the place where the crime, offence, or misdeemeanour shall be charged in such indictment or information to have been committed, or to any Governor or Lieutenant-Governor or other person having any chief authority in such country, island, or place, or to any other person or persons residing there, as the case may require, and as to the said Court of King's Bench may, under all the circumstances of the case, seem most expedient for the purpose of obtaining and receiving proofs concerning the matters charged in any such indictment or information; and the person or persons to whom such writ or writs shall be directed and sent, are hereby respectively authorized and required to hold a court, session, or meeting, with all convenient speed, for the examination of witnesses and receiving other proofs concerning the matters charged in such indictment or information respectively, and in the meantime to cause public notice to be given of the holding the said court, session, or meeting, and to issue such summons or other process as may be requisite for the attendance of witnesses, and to adjourn from time to time as occasion may require; and such examination or examinations shall be then and there openly and publicly taken *viva voce* in the said court, session, or meeting, upon questions put by any such prosecutor or prosecutors, defendant or defendants, or any agent or agents, person or persons on behalf of the said Attorney-General or other prosecutor or prosecutors, and defendant or defendants respectively, if any such shall attend for that purpose, and by the court, person or persons to whom such writ shall be directed and sent as aforesaid, upon the respective oaths of witnesses, and the oaths of skilful interpreters if necessary, administered according to the forms of their several religions, and shall, by some officer or person sworn for that purpose, be reduced into writing on parchment or paper; and in case any duplicate or duplicates shall be required by or on behalf of the prosecutor, or the defendant or defendants respectively, into two or

more writings on parchment or paper, as the case may require; and such examination or examinations shall be sent to His Majesty in His Court of King's Bench closed up, and under the seal or seals of the person or persons before whom such examination or examinations as aforesaid shall have been taken; and the person or persons taking such examination or examinations as aforesaid shall deliver the same to any person or persons appointed by the said Court of King's Bench to receive the same, or shall transmit the same in such manner as the said Court of King's Bench shall direct; and all such examinations shall, with all convenient speed, be delivered to one of the clerks in Court of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, in the Crown Office of the said Court, for the safe custody thereof; and every clerk in the said Court of King's Bench, to whom any examination or examinations shall be delivered, is hereby authorized to administer an oath to the person delivering the same to him, in such form as the said Court of King's Bench shall direct; and such examination or examinations shall be allowed and read upon the trial of any such indictment or information, or any other subsequent proceeding thereon or relating thereto, and shall be deemed as good and competent evidence as if the witness or witnesses, whose examination or examinations shall be so read, had been present, and sworn, and examined, *viva voce*, at such trial, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding, saving all just exceptions to be taken to any such examination or examinations or any part thereof, when the same shall be offered to be read as aforesaid; and all persons concerned shall be entitled to take copies of such examinations in the custody of such clerk in court at their own costs and charges.

"III. And be it further enacted, That it shall also be lawful for the said Court of King's Bench upon motion to be made, and such notice thereof as aforesaid, by or on behalf of His Majesty's Attorney-General, or other prosecutor, or defendant or defendants in any such indictment or information, to order an examination *de bene esse* of witnesses upon interrogatories, in any case where the *viva voce* testimony of such witnesses cannot conveniently be had, be taken before an examiner to be appointed by the said Court, and the depositions taken upon such interrogatories shall be afterwards admitted to be read in evidence upon the trial of such indictment or information, or in any other subsequent proceeding thereon or relating thereto, and shall be deemed good and sufficient evidence in the law, saving all just exceptions to be taken to such depositions when the same shall be offered to be read as aforesaid.

"IV. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any person or persons to whom any such writ or writs of *Mandamus* shall be directed, or order sent as aforesaid; and in case the same shall be directed or sent to more than one person, for so many of them as shall for that purpose be appointed by the said writ, or required by the said order, and who shall act in the execution thereof; and such person and persons is and are hereby respectively authorized and required to administer all oaths required to

be taken under any of the provisions of this Act, or necessary for the due execution of any such writ or order, or any Act, matter, or thing relating thereto, and to examine upon oath all persons whom he or they find occasion to summon, and all other persons whom he or they shall think fit to examine, touching all matters and things necessary for the due execution of any such writ or order as aforesaid; and such person or persons respectively, to whom such writ shall be directed, or order sent as aforesaid, or so many of them as shall in that behalf be appointed, and shall act in the execution thereof as aforesaid, shall have full power and authority to compel the appearance and giving evidence of any witness upon any such writ or order, and to issue special summons or other process for that purpose, and may proceed upon such summons, or other process, by imprisonment of the body of any person refusing to appear or give evidence, in like manner as any Court or Courts of Record within this kingdom, having competent authority for that purpose, may proceed against any person or persons for any contempt committed against the authority of any such Court.

"V. And be it further enacted, That in case any person or persons in the course of his, her, or their examination upon oath, under and by virtue of the said recited Act of the twenty-fourth year of His present Majesty, or this Act, shall wilfully and corruptly give false evidence, such person or persons so offending, and being thereof duly convicted, shall be, and is and are hereby declared to be, subject and liable to such pains and penalties, as persons guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury shall be liable to by any law or laws then in force in the kingdom, island, or place where such false evidence shall have been given as aforesaid.

"VI. And whereas it is expedient to extend the provisions of an Act, passed in the twenty-first year of the reign of His Majesty King James the First, intituled, *An Act to enlarge and make perpetual the Act made for ease in pleading against troublesome and contentious suits prosecuted against*

Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Constables, and certain other His Majesty's Officers, for the lawful execution of their office, made in the seventh year of His Majesty's most happy reign, to all persons who may by law commit to safe custody, either in or out of this kingdom; be it therefore enacted, That, from and after the passing of this Act, the said recited Act, and all the provisions therein contained, shall extend, and be deemed, taken, and construed to extend to all persons having, holding, or exercising, or being employed in, or who may hereafter have, hold, or exercise, or be employed in any public employment, or any office, station, or capacity, either civil or military, either in or out of this kingdom; and who under and by virtue, or in pursuance of any Act or Acts of Parliament, law or laws, or lawful authority within this kingdom, or any Act or Acts, statute or statutes, ordinance or ordinances, or law or laws, or lawful authority in any plantation, island, colony, or foreign possession of His Majesty, now have or may hereafter have, by virtue of any such public employment, or such office, station, or capacity, power or authority to commit persons to safe custody; and all such persons, having such power or authority as aforesaid, shall have and be entitled to all the privileges, benefits, and advantages, given by the provisions of the said Act as fully and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been specially named therein: Provided always, That where any action, bill, plaint, or suit upon the case, trespass, battery, or false imprisonment, shall be brought against any such person as is in this Act described as aforesaid, in this kingdom, for or upon any act, matter, or thing done out of this kingdom, it shall be lawful for the Plaintiff bringing the same to lay such act, matter, or thing, to have been done in *Westminster*, or in any county where the person against whom any such action, bill, plaint, or suit, shall be brought, shall then reside; any thing in this Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."



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